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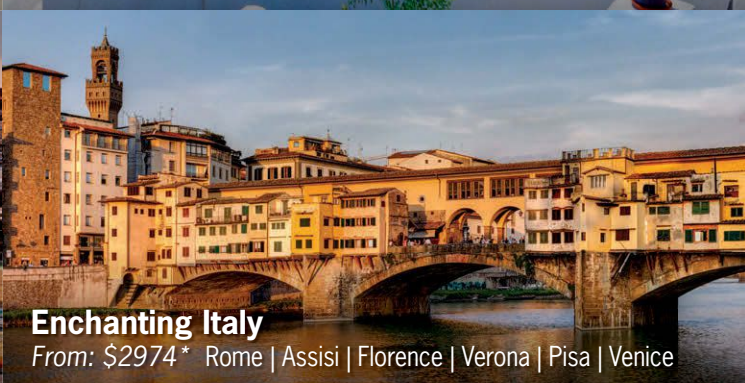
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– *Daniel 11:16, New Revised Standard Version*

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– *Daniel 11:16, Syriac Peshitta*

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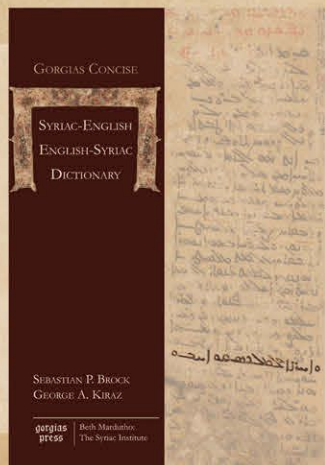
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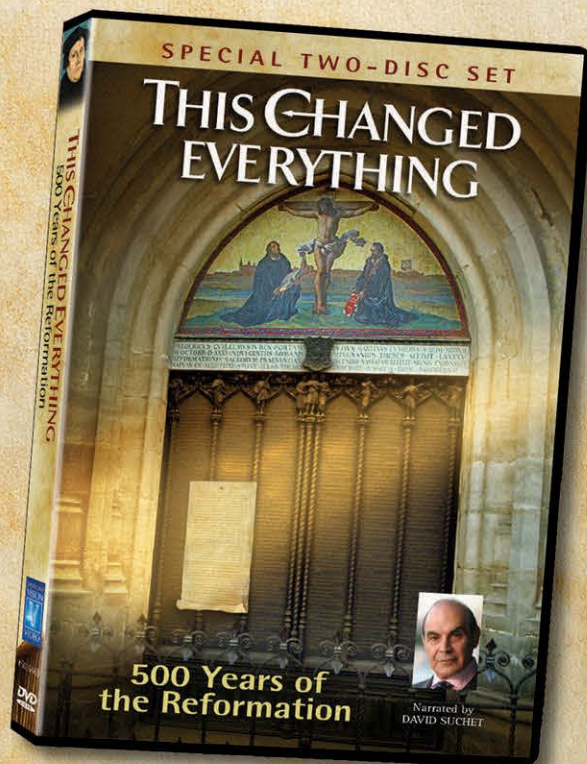
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ON THE COVER:

Wearing a three-horned headdress, this Edomite goddess figurine is dated to the late seventh

or early sixth century B.C.E. Its protruding nose and large eyes are common features of Edomite figurines.

PHOTO: “EDOMITE GODDESS, QITMIT” BY CHAMBERI IS LICENSED UNDER CC-BY-SA-2.0

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FEATURES

26 Ammon, Moab and Edom: Gods and Kingdoms East of the Jordan

Joel S. Burnett

During the Iron Age, when Israel and Judah ruled Canaan, the kingdoms of Ammon, Moab and Edom ruled east of the Jordan River. They and their gods are featured in the Bible. Recent archaeological discoveries vastly increase our understanding of these kingdoms and their religion.

41 Pigs as an Ethnic Marker? You Are What You Eat

Lidar Sapir-Hen

Ancient Israelites didn’t eat pigs. Philistines did. Therefore if you are excavating and find lots of pig bones at your site, it can’t be Israelite—or can it? A new survey brings this conventional wisdom into question with surprising results.

44 Relics in Rubble: The Temple Mount Sifting Project

Gabriel Barkay and Zachi Dvira

Jerusalem’s Temple Mount is one of the world’s holiest sites; archaeological excavations are prohibited here. But, in November 1999, the Islamic trust that controls the Islamic structures on the site bulldozed a massive area in the southeastern corner of the Temple Mount and dumped the excavated debris into the Kidron Valley. Two archaeologists are running a pioneering project to wet-sift this debris to search for Temple Mount artifacts that have been concealed for centuries.

56 What the Temple Mount Floor Looked Like

Frankie Snyder, Gabriel Barkay and Zachi Dvira

More than a hundred colorful polished stone tiles have been recovered by the Temple Mount Sifting Project. The tiles reveal what the Temple Mount floors looked like in Herod’s time. They were paved in a technique called *opus sectile*.



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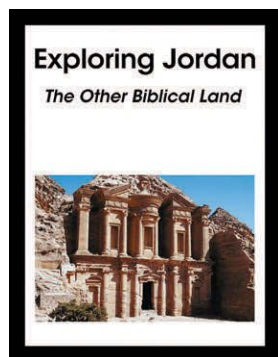
ON THE WEB



The Origins of "The Cherry Tree Carol"

biblicalarchaeology.org/carol

"The Cherry Tree Carol" is a Christmas carol that first appeared in 13th-century England; an American version was discovered in Appalachia in the 20th century. In a new guest blog post, Stonehill College Biblical scholar Mary Joan Winn Leith explains the carol's roots in early Christian Syrian churches.



Exploring Jordan: The Other Biblical Land

biblicalarchaeology.org/jordanebook

Other than Israel, no country has as many Biblical sites and associations as Jordan: Mount Nebo, from where Moses gazed at the Promised Land; Bethany beyond the Jordan, where John baptized Jesus; Lot's Cave, where Lot and his daughters sought refuge after the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah; and many more. Travel with us on our journey into the past in our free eBook.

Temple Mount Special Collection

biblicalarchaeology.org/templemount

Considered sacred ground even before Solomon's Temple stood there and bitterly contested in our own day, the Temple Mount is one of the most fascinating and important places on earth. In a BAS Library Special Collection, we've selected several **BAR** articles that highlight the Temple Mount's role in the three major Abrahamic religions and focus on a key archaeological issue: Just where was the ancient Jewish Temple located?



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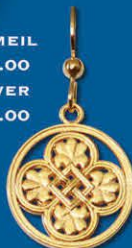
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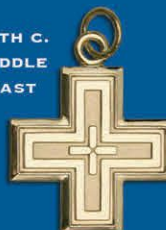


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The owner of the Gospel of Jesus' Wife ran pornographic websites.

Why Consult Scholarship to Judge “Jesus’ Wife” Fragment?

GOOD JOURNALISM BEATS GOOD SCHOLARSHIP. That’s the apparent lesson of a long article in the July/August 2016 issue of the *Atlantic*¹ that is winning kudos all over for unmasking a fake ancient inscription in which Jesus refers to “my wife,” ostensibly indicating he is married.

The inscription is in Coptic and inscribed on a piece of ancient papyrus the size of a business card. It came to Harvard Divinity School Professor Karen King, who holds the oldest endowed chair in the United States, via one Walter Fritz, who requested anonymity.

The *Atlantic* piece was written by investigative journalist and author Ariel Sabar. By the time Sabar got into the act, the Coptic text had been widely known for years and even published. Whether it was a forgery had been extensively debated.

One who was certain he knew the answer was Leo Depuydt, a Coptic specialist from Brown University. Depuydt was able to reach a firm judgment even after viewing only a picture of the text in the newspaper; the Coptic grammar was that terrible. I have not “the slightest doubt that the document is a forgery and not a very good one at that,” declared Depuydt. British scholar Francis Watson of the University of Durham reached the same conclusion.

To Karen King at Harvard, however, the text looked good. So she did what careful scholars usually do: She consulted colleagues—papyrologists AnneMarie Luijendijk of Princeton University and Roger Bagnall, head of New York University’s Institute for the Study of the Ancient World. Both were inclined to agree with Karen King that the Coptic text was good. Indeed, based on the ink, Professor Luijendijk went further: “It would be impossible to forge.” Then Hebrew University specialist Ariel Shisha-Halevy agreed: “The text is authentic.”

Then a bombshell hit the scholarly world. Unfortunately the story is a little complicated. Christian Askeland had recently earned his Ph.D. at the University of Cambridge, writing his dissertation on the Gnostic Gospel of John. A fragment of the Gnostic Gospel of John was also among the documents that had been given to Karen King with the Gospel of Jesus’ Wife. The two documents were written by the same hand. Based on the text of the Gnostic Gospel of John that Askeland had analyzed for his dissertation, he was able to show that the fragment of the Gnostic Gospel of John found among the

fragments that Karen King possessed was clearly a forgery. The forger of the small fragment of the Gnostic Gospel of John in Karen King’s possession had replicated every other line of the Gnostic Gospel of John that Askeland had studied for his dissertation (and it had been known since 1923, so it was clearly not a recent forgery). This rather clearly indicated that the copy of the Gnostic Gospel of John that Karen King possessed was a forgery: For 17 lines the breaks in the lines of Karen King’s fragment of the Gnostic Gospel of John replicated those in Askeland’s referenced copy of the Gnostic Gospel of John.* And if the copy of the Gnostic Gospel of John that Karen King had was a forgery, so was the fragment of the Gospel of Jesus’ Wife. If one is a forgery, so is the other.

Karen King now largely agrees.

Then the analysis turned from the scholarly world to the journalistic world.

The July/August 2016 issue of the *Atlantic* published a lengthy investigative piece by Ariel Sabar. In it Sabar scrutinized the life of Walter Fritz, the man who brought the Gospel of Jesus’ Wife and the other alleged ancient documents to Karen King, concluding, *on the basis of Fritz’s character and activities*, that the documents were forgeries.

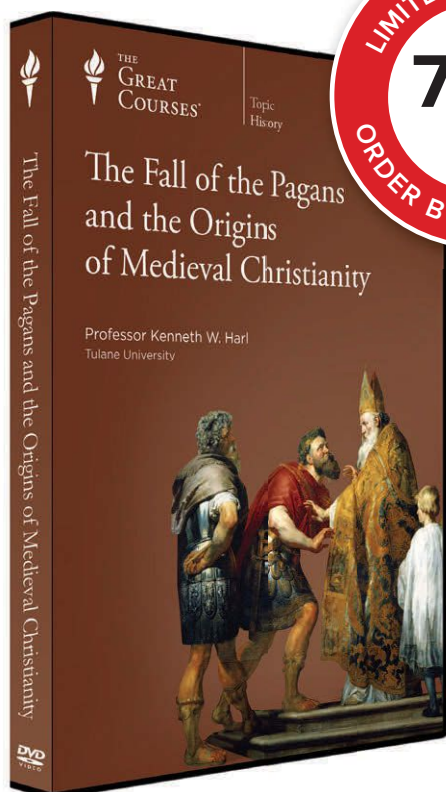
Sabar’s investigative reporting of Fritz, his activities and his lies was intensive and has been almost universally seen as brilliant journalism. No doubt Walter Fritz was a cagy guy. Evidently, in the 1980s and ’90s, he was enrolled in a master’s program in Egyptology at the Free University of Berlin. He was also a tour guide at Berlin’s Egyptian Museum and even became the director of a newly opened museum housed in the former Stasi headquarters in Berlin.

After reading Sabar’s article in the *Atlantic*, Karen King realized she knew almost nothing about Walter Fritz. Sabar’s article, she declared, “tips the balance toward forgery.”

What disturbs me about Sabar’s piece is not his conclusion—I do believe the Gospel of Jesus’ Wife is a forgery—but that he reached his “probable” conclusion without even considering scholarship on the subject. For him it is apparently irrelevant; the only relevant question is Walter Fritz’s character. That scholarship had already declared the text

CONTINUES ON PAGE 62

*Hershel Shanks, “The Saga of ‘The Gospel of Jesus’ Wife,’” *BAR*, May/June 2015.



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TIDBITS

Archaeology Supporting the Bible

"Archaeology Gives New Reality to Paul's Ephesus Riot" by James R. Edwards (**BAR**, July/August 2016) is the best. The printed passage on the riot at Ephesus (Acts 19:23–41) was conveniently available. And the pictures, map and background all support the conclusion that "Luke knew what he was talking about in recording the riot in the theater." It is wonderful to read an article that uses archaeology to support the Bible.

JAY MOYERS
CENTENNIAL, COLORADO

My Hat's Off to Hershel

I just finished reading Hershel Shanks's article on the ivory pomegranate and the authenticity of its inscription ("Ivory Pomegranate," **BAR**, March/April 2016). He and I are the same age (86), and I am in wonder at his determination, perspicacity and energy!

BARBARA DAMON
FORT WORTH, TEXAS

Celebrating Ancient Synagogue Restoration

I just read Chaim Ben David's article "Um el-Kanatir" (**BAR**, July/August 2016) about the reconstruction of the ancient Um el-Kanatir synagogue. Bravo! It was great to see an ancient building restored in this way. Not only can science

learn more about the past, but the public can get a deeper feel for antiquity and their connection to it. I hope this trend continues.

As the synagogue is now back together, more or less, are there any plans to conduct a service there, as a sort of rededication?

ANDREW CARUTHERS
WENATCHEE, WASHINGTON

Chaim Ben David responds:

According to Jewish halakhah (religious law), there is no need for rededication since a destroyed synagogue remains holy. Many public prayers have already been held in the rebuilt synagogue. My son's bar mitzvah was celebrated there.

Spell Check Monster Rears Ugly Head

While certainly not a crime deserving imprisonment, I hope that Professor Dan Ben-Amos is not trying to stir up a new controversy with his repeated use of the word "penal" (see "From Eden to Ednah—Lilith in the Garden," **BAR**, March/April

2016) to refer to the hotly contested meaning of the Hebrew word *tsela'*. His confusion of "penal," which has to do with a penalty inflicted for a criminal act, with "penile," which derives from the noun penis, is indeed disconcerting. But I believe it is the editors of **BAR** who deserve several lashes (with a wet noodle perhaps?) for not picking a bone with the author's intended or not meaning and setting his house back in order by correcting the infraction.

RABBI ALAN LAPAYOVER
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The reference made in Dan Ben-Amos's article to "penal" was an error. It should be "penile."—Ed.

Not Offended So Far

In the past I've seen copies of **BAR**, but I have finally gotten 'round to being a subscriber, and so far you've managed to stimulate rather than offend. Thank you.

ROBERT (BOB) W. KNIGHT
MODI'IN, ISRAEL

Responses to Inmate in "Administrative Segregation"

In our July/August 2016 issue, we printed a letter from a prisoner in solitary confinement ("administrative segregation" in official prison lingo). He asked some questions about the Bible but said he was "used to not getting answers" to the letters he had been writing and sending.

We promised to transmit any readers' responses we received to Brett Disiere. We sent him more than 40 responses.—Ed.



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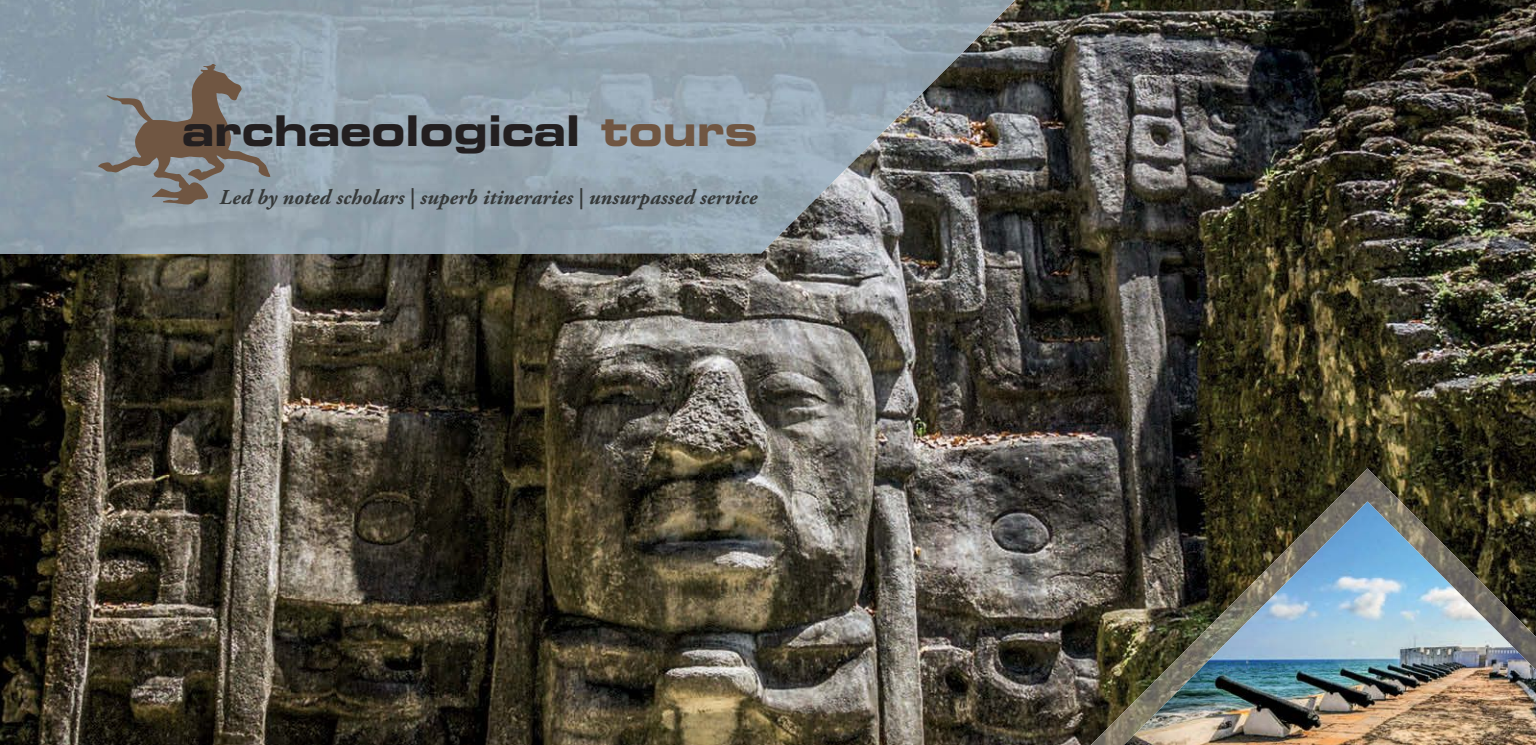
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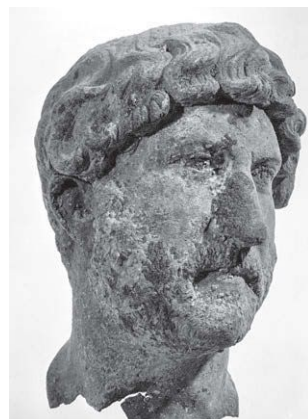
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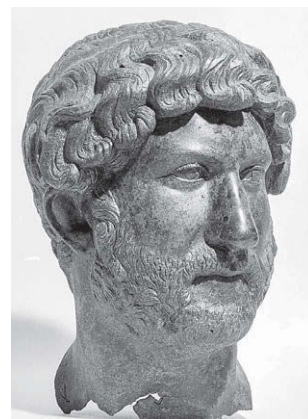




ELIE POSNER, © THE ISRAEL MUSEUM, JERUSALEM



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Hadrian Restored and Revealed

A recent Israel Museum exhibit on the Roman emperor Hadrian included three stunning bronze statues of Hadrian (see above left image and Strata: "Hadrian's Many Faces," **BAR**, July/August 2016). One of them (shown above center before restoration and above right after restoration) was actually discovered more than 40 years ago in Israel by an American

tourist, Morton Leventhal, while he was using a metal detector to search for ancient coins.

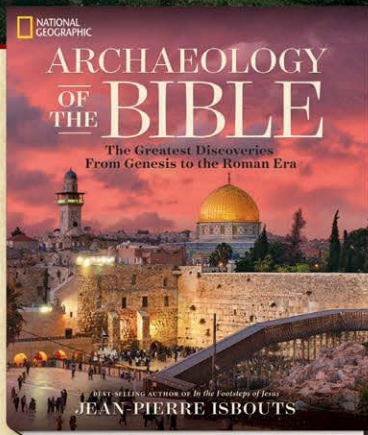
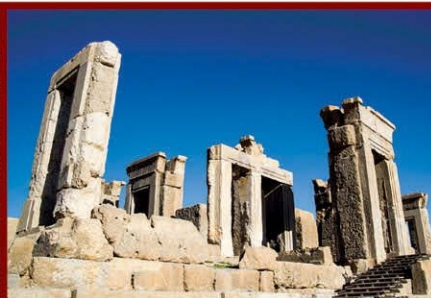
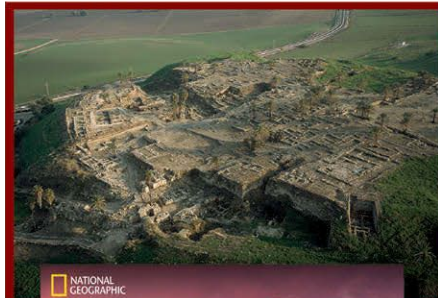
Mr. Leventhal lives in our community. I know it would be appreciated by Mr. Leventhal, his family and the community if his contribution to the Hadrian discovery were acknowledged in **BAR**.

DAVID SITZER
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

We hope Mr. Leventhal, his family and the community enjoy this recognition, although Mr. Leventhal's activity was illegal.

*In 1978, we wanted to put a color picture of this Hadrian on **BAR**'s cover. But the Israel Antiquities Department refused to release a color picture of the statue (nor would it allow us to take a color picture*

CONTINUES ON PAGE 64



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CLARA AMIT, COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

Sunken Cargo at Herod's Port City

This was not your average day of diving. Divers Ran Feinstein and Ofer Ra'anán were checking out the underwater ruins of the ancient port city of Caesarea Maritima in Israel when they made a spectacular discovery: a 1,600-year-old trove of bronze statues, coins and other finds that once comprised the cargo of a merchant ship!

Feinstein and Ra'anán reported what they found to the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), which subsequently led to an underwater salvage survey. The Late Roman cargo recovered by the IAA archaeologists includes a bronze lamp depicting the sun god Sol, a figurine of the moon goddess Luna, remains of three life-size bronze statues and thousands of coins that weighed in all 44 pounds.

"A marine assemblage such as this has not been found in Israel in the [past] 30 years,"

said Jacob Sharvit, Director of the IAA Marine Archaeology Unit, and Dror Planer, the unit's Deputy Director. "Metal statues are rare archaeological finds because they were always melted down and recycled in antiquity. When we find bronze artifacts, it usually occurs at sea. Because these statues were wrecked together with the ship, they sank in the water and were thus 'saved' from the recycling process."

Caesarea Maritima was established by the king of Judea, Herod the Great (r. 37–4 B.C.E.), and named in honor of Caesar Augustus, the founder of the Roman Empire. Herod outfitted the existing town with a grand palace complex, a temple dedicated to Roma and Augustus, a Roman-style theater, a circus for chariot racing and a massive artificial harbor—the largest built in

the open sea at that time—constructed with the latest advances in Roman concrete technology. According to the New Testament, Paul the apostle was held in the Roman governor's palace at Caesarea Maritima for two years while awaiting his trial in Rome (Acts 23:23–24; 24).

The coins discovered by the divers bore the bust of Roman emperor Constantine. In 313 C.E., Constantine and co-emperor Licinius issued the Edict of Milan, which established religious tolerance in the Roman Empire toward all religions, including Christianity.

IN HISTORY

DECEMBER 31, 192 C.E. Hated Roman emperor Commodus was assassinated. First he was poisoned, but when that failed to kill him, he was strangled by his personal trainer Narcissus.

Commodus dressed as Hercules



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THE BIBLE IN THE NEWS

So It Sayeth

Leonard J. Greenspoon

Recently I was working through a thorny Biblical passage. What struck me as I surveyed the versions is how some expressions that entered English through translation have essentially shed their Biblical origin, as, for example, “eat, drink and be merry” (from Ecclesiastes 8:15) or “see eye to eye” (from Isaiah 52:8).

But there are others—for example, “eye for an eye” (Matthew 5:38, alluding to Exodus 21:24) and “writing on the wall” (see Daniel 5)—that retain their scriptural setting among large swaths of readers. This is also true for single words that appeared in 15th- and 16th-century literature, like “beget,” “covet” and “sayeth” (or “saieth”), with or without the preceding adverb “thus.” It is to this last term that we now turn: What does the popular press say about “sayeth” and the Bible?

The connection is clearest when it is explicit. We have this story from the *Times* of London: “So it sayeth in the Bible ... ‘it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich person to’ etc. But for camel’s milk? The rich are all over that. ... Yup. Going for up to £19 for 500 ml of raw camel milk imported into the UK from a grass-fed Dutch herd.”

Moving right along, here’s a Bible- and business-related

report from New York City’s *Daily News*: “If Jesus had a marketing guru, he might have hired the same guys as Citibank. ‘Do not lay up your treasures on Earth where moth and dust doth corrupt,’ says Jesus. ‘He who dies with the most toys is still dead,’ says the Citibank billboard. ... ‘I have learned to be content in whatever circumstances I have,’ sayeth the Good Book. ‘A sure way to get rich quick: Count your blessings,’ sayeth Citibank. And by the way, Citibank addeth for good measure, ‘Live richly.’”

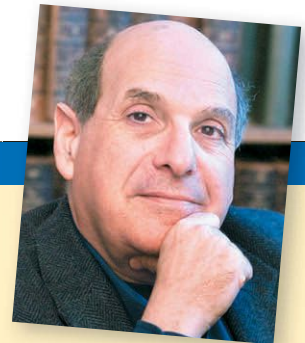
I don’t know about you, dear readers, but I’m itching to check out the words of sports scribes, who have typically been a veritable mother lode for this writer. Let us look first at a column (from June 2014) by the syndicated writer Charles Krauthammer: “Vengeance is mine, sayeth the Lord. And although retribution shall surely come in the fullness of time, a ballplayer can only wait so long.” He explicates: “We Americans, children of so young a country, can barely fathom ineradicable grievances [of the sort that characterize European feuds]. No. We’ll do our vengeance on the playing field, thank you.”

The connection between verb and Holy Word remains intact even when Scripture is somewhat scrambled.

Let’s stay within the realm of sports, moving from baseball diamond to football (in this case, soccer) field: “As the good book sayeth: ‘What does it profit a man to gain the Sam Maguire Cup but lose his sheep?’ That was written about 5,000 years ago or something, but it’s still every bit as true now as it was then. It’s hard to believe that a football-mad sheep farmer from Donegal is risking eternal damnation for a seat in the Canal End on Sunday—have the Hills gone totally crazy with football fever?” (as queried in the *Irish News*).

There are many places where the “sayeth” Scripture connection is illusive and implicit—but nonetheless intended. Here is an example taken from the world of entertainment: “Rich people are not always happy people. Wealth can, indeed, be a burden. So sayeth Madonna, whose revelations about riches and ‘tristesse’ will come in the last of the singer-cum-writer’s five-book children’s series” (*Knight Ridder Newspapers*).

The headline to the next example brings together one of show business’s more storied, if troubled, couples: “Elvis Preaching? So Sayeth



Priscilla.” In what follows we learn these tidbits: “Were he [still alive] he’d still be singin’—and preaching ... She said the King of Rock would eschew rock: ‘I think that maybe he’d be going into gospel. Maybe even preaching a little bit. He loved to teach and loved the Bible.’”

We conclude with what I term a feel-good, win-win story: “Divine inspiration has prompted the creation of a Make-Your-Own-Bible-Trailer Workshop next month. Sunday Afternoon Cycling Church ‘Pope’ Steven Muir says the workshop will teach participants how to construct a bike trailer out of recycled materials: ‘The word of the Lord came to me in this year 2005 A.D., the 30th year after the first oil price shocks and at the beginning of peak oil. Thus sayeth the Lord, I have seen the greed and over-consumption of the people of the Earth, and behold I am most displeased ...’ And the Lord revealed the mechanism by which the people of the Earth should transport their goods, and behold it was a bike trailer” (from the *Press*, Christchurch, New Zealand).

This is the last in the long-running series of “Bible in the News” columns. We deeply appreciate Leonard Greenspoon’s years of service, as do his loyal readers.—H.S.

2016 BAS Scholarship Winners

A lot of planning and hard work goes into making every archaeological excavation season a success. This is seen not only during the season itself, but also in the months leading up to it and in the years following it when the excavated material is processed and published. One of the essential elements that keeps excavations running is volunteer participation.

Volunteers provide the manpower that allows archaeologists to uncover

history. They scrape ancient floors and walls with their trowels; they swing pickaxes; they carry buckets of dirt; they gently excavate artifacts and remains with wooden skewers; they sift dirt to find anything that missed their initial collection; they wash and sort pottery; and they perform a million other tasks that are essential for an excavation to run smoothly. From students to retirees, novices to professionals, volunteers come from all over

the world to help excavate the past.

Every year the Biblical Archaeology Society (BAS) provides scholarships to individuals who would not otherwise be able to participate in an archaeological excavation. This year BAS awarded 20 qualified individuals—from a pool of more than 125 applicants—scholarships of \$1,500 each. This diverse group chose to excavate throughout the Mediterranean and Biblical world, including sites in Israel, Jordan and Spain.

On behalf of the

scholarship winners, **BAR** offers our sincere thanks to the generous donors who made this year's scholarship program possible:

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Samuel D. Turner and Elizabeth Goss

Name	City	Dig Site	Director(s)
Michael Aeschlimann	Zurich, Switzerland	Tell es-Safi/Gath	Aren Maeir
Bruno Alves Barros	Poços de Caldas, Minas Gerais State, Brazil	Tall Jalul, Jordan	Paul Gregor, Constance Gane
Chance Bonar	New Haven, Connecticut	Huqoq	Jodi Magness
Kurtis Denton	Van Buren, Arkansas	Abel Beth Maacah	Robert Mullins, Nava Panitz-Cohen
Joy Feinberg	Brooklyn, New York	Ashkelon	Lawrence Stager, Daniel Master
Aimée Hanson	Leavenworth, Kansas	Omrit	Dan Schowalter
Elijah Hosse	Fort Worth, Texas	Tel Gezer	Steve Ortiz, Sam Wolff
Jennifer Johnson	Woodlands, Texas	Tel Gezer	Steve Ortiz, Sam Wolff
Lauren King	Lucas, Texas	Tel Dor	Ilan Sharon, Ayelet Gilboa, Assaf Yasur-Landau, S. Rebecca Martin
Marina Knott	Dayton, Tennessee	Lachish	Yosef Garfinkel, Michael Hasel, Martin Klingbeil
Mudian Liu	Laiwu City, Shandong Province, China	Megiddo & Lachish	Israel Finkelstein, Matthew Adams, Mario Martin/Yosef Garfinkel, Michael Hasel, Martin Klingbeil
Cody Lupo	Rosman, North Carolina	Huqoq	Jodi Magness
Andy Mickelson	Highland, Utah	Huqoq	Jodi Magness
Jessica Rowland	Sparta, Michigan	Tel Dan	David Ilan, Yifat Thareani, Jonathan Greer
Angelique Russell	Altadena, California	Sanisera, Spain	Fernando Contreras
Tyler Willrich	Georgetown, Texas	Tell Halif	Oded Borowski
Austin Shanabrook	Ashland, Massachusetts	Tel Hazor	Amnon Ben-Tor
Kasey Nichole Shell	Milford, Indiana	Tell es-Safi/Gath	Aren Maeir
Diona Southcott	Watertown, New York	Tell es-Safi/Gath	Aren Maeir
Emily Thomassen	Chicago, Illinois	Tell Keisan	David Schloen, Gunnar Lehmann

WHAT IS IT?



- A** Kneading stone
- B** Mace head
- C** Pipe
- D** Weight
- E** Massage tool

ANSWER ON P. 62

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Tinsel Town's Take on Ancient Egyptian Myth

Often when we think of Egyptian mythology (and Near Eastern mythology in general), we find their myths not only foreign, but strange and very hard to imagine in our modern, Western minds. *Gods of Egypt*, Hollywood's newest attempt at adapting Egyptian myths, does a fantastic job of bringing these ancient stories to life in a visually beautiful and understandable way.

Of course, like any Hollywood film, *Gods of Egypt* adjusts, modifies and ignores the original source content at times. Take the nightly fight between Ra (the sun god) and Apophis, a chaos serpent—who, thanks to

the film's CGI special effects, looks like a chaos worm vacuum cleaner with rows and rows of sharp teeth. In the Egyptian tales, Ra has the help of other deities, including Set, the film's antagonist, in fighting Apophis every night. However, in the film Ra travels alone. He tries to convince Set (his son) to join him and eventually replace him, but Set turns him down. The lure of earthly power is far too great for Set to give up for a less glorifying role.

Gods of Egypt gets many other elements right (and wrong), and overall the film is entertaining and interesting. The film's addition of a human hero, Bek, helps to bring the gods down to a relatable level as he teaches them (especially Horus, our hero) the virtues of kindness, compassion and honesty.

This movie's ability to bring ancient Egyptian mythology to life and to portray the gods in a relatable way are two of its great qualities. Egyptian myth was a huge influence on the ancient Israelites (think of the golden calf incident of Exodus 32), and understanding not only Egyptian myth, but Near Eastern myth in general, helps us put the Bible into its

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Although we are limited in what we can know and say about the ancient world, it is important for historians and archaeologists to do more than just list facts. Trevor Bryce makes the case that it is necessary to look at ancient cultures through the eyes of those who lived in it—and discuss what life would have been like for the average person in those cultures.¹ Taking this approach creates as full a picture of the past as possible.



Many books have been written about ancient peoples and places. But even the most comprehensive treatments sometimes lack an important perspective: While providing a wide range of information about a particular society, they fail to convey any clear sense of what it must have been like to live in it, to participate directly in the life of its villages and cities, to meet its people on the streets and in their homes. It is rather like reading a book of facts and figures about Istanbul, which though accurate and thorough in its details, communicates little of the essential experience of a visit to Hagia Sophia, or a walk through the bustling alleys of the Covered Market or a ferry-boat trip along the Bosphorus, or a ride in a dolmuş. Of course no matter how graphic the description of such experiences, it can never be a satisfactory substitute for the experience itself—which as far as the ancient world is concerned will be forever denied us, at least until time travel becomes possible. Nevertheless, in using the factual data on which our knowledge of an ancient society is based, we should attempt to build up a picture of this society not merely as detached modern commentators but by seeing it through the eyes of someone actually living in it, taking part in its daily activities, its festive occasions, its celebrations, its crises and conflicts, experiencing its whole mix of sights, sounds and smells.

¹ Trevor Bryce, *Life and Society in the Hittite World* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002).

cultural context.*

Overall, *Gods of Egypt* is an enjoyable film—despite

its historical and mythical inaccuracies—with just the right amount of good, old-fashioned Hollywood magic to bring the ancient stories to life.—J.D.

*See Shawna Dolansky, Biblical Views: "The Multiple Truths of Myths," *BAR*, January/February 2016.



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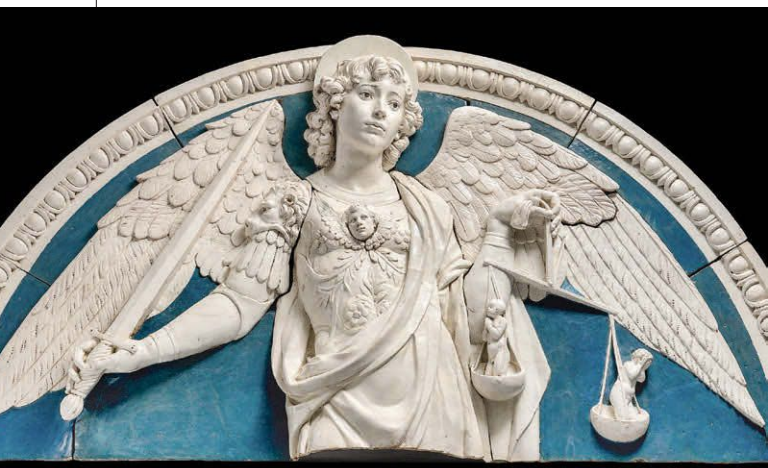
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Michael Is Mended

After an accidental fall from grace, *Saint Michael the Archangel* is once again fully restored, even though he is only half-length. In 2008 the 62-by-32-inch lunette sculpted by Andrea della Robbia (1435–1525), of the renowned della Robbia family (his uncle Luca invented the earthenware glazing technique), titled *Saint Michael the Archangel*, fell from its place in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (the Met) and was damaged. The statue was originally commissioned in 1475 for the San

Michele Arcangelo Church in Faenza, Italy.

The legends that surround Michael are clearly displayed in the lunette—from the sword that symbolizes his role as general of heaven's army and his ultimate defeat of Satan to the justice scales he uses to judge the souls of the dead. These details are all emphasized by the subtle blue and white palette of the sculpture.

During the restoration process, the scientists discovered tool and finger marks on the piece that helped them better understand the techniques used in its creation. After the fall, the Met has reviewed and improved all of its wall mountings.

Today *Saint Michael the Archangel* can be viewed in Gallery 500 in the European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Galleries of the Met.

HOW MANY?

How many laws about prayer are there in the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament)?

ANSWER ON P. 62

EXHIBIT WATCH

Jerusalem at the Gates of Heaven

Medieval Jerusalem was considered a holy city by Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Some thought that it stood not only at the crossroads of the known world, but also at the gates of heaven. People of various faiths and ethnicities flocked to it; sacred monuments were built in it; and wars were fought over it.

Jerusalem's importance as both a religious location and symbol shaped the art of the medieval period. This is reflected in the exhibit

THROUGH JANUARY 8, 2017
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Jerusalem 1000–1400: Every People Under Heaven, currently on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The exhibit focuses on six factors that influenced Jerusalem's medieval art: trade and tourism, its diverse population, its sacred monuments, holy war, generous patrons and its heavenly quality. The last factor reflects the view held by Jews, Christians and Muslims that Jerusalem is an eternal city.

The exhibit features about 200 artifacts from this period, including five capitals from the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth (see "The Virgin and Apostle Capital," below, dated to the early 1170s), which are on display outside of Nazareth, Israel, for the first time. There can be no doubt that during both war and peace in the medieval period, Jerusalem was a major source of artistic inspiration.



TERRA SANCTA MUSEUM, BASILICA OF THE ANNUNCIATION, NAZARETH



biblicalarchaeology.org/exhibits For more on this exhibit and others, visit us online.

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CARTOON CAPTION CONTEST



"I decided not to wing it."

—Al Stremble, Larkspur, Colorado

Thank you to all those who submitted caption entries for our July/August 2016 cartoon (above), based on Genesis 28:10–15.

We are pleased to congratulate Al Stremble of Larkspur, Colorado, who wrote the winning caption, and our runners-up:

"Sorry for the delay, Jacob, but Health and Safety will only permit one angel on the ladder at a time now."

—Paul Goff, Portsmouth, Hampshire, United Kingdom

"I sure hope you have a stairlift for me when it's my time to enter heaven, Lord. I have a feeling my hip is not going to be working the same in the future!"

—Kimberly Myers, Hudson, Ohio

Write a caption for the cartoon below (see Genesis 24:18–20, 45–46), and send it to us by mail or online on our website (see box below):

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Biblical Archaeology Society
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Be sure to include your name and address. The deadline for entries is November 30, 2016. The author of the winning caption will receive a copy of the BAS book *The Origins of Things*, a BAS tote bag and three gift subscriptions to give **BAR** to friends. Runners-up will receive a BAS tote bag and two gift subscriptions.



biblicalarchaeology.org/captioncontest

- ▶ See additional caption entries for this month's featured cartoon.
- ▶ Submit a caption for our new cartoon.
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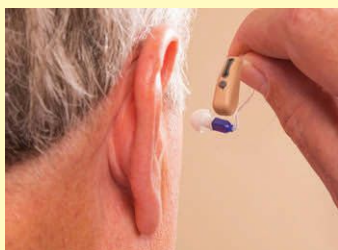
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Unholy Ink: What Does the Bible Say about Tattoos?

Mark W. Chavalas

FOR THOSE OF US OVER 50, ANY MENTION of a person with tattoos often brings to mind a rowdy sailor or a motorcycle gang member. Over the past generation, however, the art of tattooing has become part of mainstream culture, part of a larger phenomenon that includes the art of body piercing. It is not just young people who engage in this form of body art; many of those who have tattoos are at the social forefront of society: mothers, business people and sports stars. One cannot view an NBA game without seeing multiple tattoos on some of the players.

The Biblical writers clearly condemned the practice of tattooing. Leviticus 19:28 prohibits cutting or marking the body. No reason is given in this verse, however, which probably means it was obvious to the ancient reader—but not to us. The larger context of the passage is concerned with pagan mourning practices and idolatry. Thus, tattooing has been traditionally deemed “guilty by association” with other pagan rites. This is how it has been interpreted by both Jews and Christians over the centuries. Interestingly, a parallel passage in Leviticus 21:5 mentions mourning prohibitions—but without any reference to tattooing.

Three years ago, John Huehnergard and Harold Liebowitz challenged the traditional reasons for the Biblical prohibition of tattooing.¹ They recognized that mourning practices in mythological texts from Ugarit (a Canaanite town on the coast of Syria from the Late Bronze Age) involved the cutting of the body.² However, tattooing is never mentioned in these texts. That is also true of mourning practices in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Oddly, there is a possible positive reference in the Bible to tattooing. In a poetic line from Isaiah 44:5, an Israelite commits himself to God by inscribing God’s name on his arm. Thus, the Israelite in Isaiah was willingly proposing to become a servant of God.³ This is reminiscent of the common Mesopotamian and Israelite practice of marking or branding slaves with the name of the owner, often involving the forehead or hand, perhaps so slaves could be returned to their owner if they had fled.⁴ If this is correct, then tattooing was considered by the ancients as a mark of ownership.

Many of the laws in Leviticus were made to

disassociate the Israelites from their neighbors, the Canaanites, and from the Egyptians, their former masters. Tattooing, an insignia of ownership, was perhaps condemned in Leviticus because it reminded them of their past. After all, they had just spent the last four centuries as slaves in Egypt, where tattooing was also used as a sign of slavery.⁵ No longer considered slaves, the Israelites now were prohibited to mark their bodies with permanent signs of servitude to former masters. This did not have to be explicitly articulated to them; no one need ask prison inmates why they shed their orange jump suits when they are no longer incarcerated.

Later Jewish tradition viewed humans as bearing the image of God. Thus, they concluded that tattooing was a permanent marring of the divine image.

I think the meaning behind the body inscription is what mattered. As a sign of ownership, it mattered to whom the tattooed person belonged. If the person belonged to the God of Israel, then tattooing was perhaps deemed acceptable, according to my understanding of this passage of Isaiah.

What does this mean for our contemporary society? People get tattoos for a myriad of reasons: identification, artistic expression, honoring the memory of a loved one or expressing permanence in love. Though the Levitical reason may no longer be as relevant, tattooing can be seen as a conscience issue. Each one must take a serious look as to the purpose for making a permanent marking on his or her person.



Mark W. Chavalas is Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse. His areas of research include the ancient Near East, Classics, Biblical studies and archaeology. He recently edited *Women in the Ancient Near East: A Sourcebook* (Routledge, 2013).

¹ John Huehnergard and Harold Liebowitz, “The Biblical Prohibition against Tattooing,” *Vetus Testamentum* 63 (2013), pp. 59–77. Their ideas are a further development of a discussion by Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), pp. 1,694–1,695.

² For example, see Dennis Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), pp. 85–88.

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Turkey's Treasures in Trouble

Mark R. Fairchild

I'VE VISITED MORE THAN 300 ANCIENT cities throughout Turkey that date back to the Greek, Hellenistic and Roman periods. Most of them have never been excavated, and many of them are scarcely known. For some places only the names used by the modern residents remain—the ancient ones forgotten to time. Others are currently underneath modern Turkish cities, but most of them are located in remote, seldom-visited regions.

For protection, many of these villages and towns were built on mountaintops or on strategically located precipices. Over the centuries, trees and brush have covered these sites and have made visitation very difficult. In many instances, there are no modern roads that lead to the sites. At other times, a rutted dirt road or a cow path is all that leads nearby. Directions to these unmarked sites are unclear and difficult to find. Even the best Turkish

Rescued from the black market, this piece of a frieze depicting a winged charioteer was recovered while being smuggled out of Turkey. The smuggler, whom Mark R. Fairchild met just one day after taking this photo in the Bandirma Museum where the frieze now resides, had broken the frieze into pieces in order to sneak it out of the country.

roadmaps (in a book titled *Köy Köy Türkiye Yol Atlası*) mismarks about 40 percent of the ancient sites, by my estimate. To locate these places, my strategy has been to talk to nearby villagers.

On one trip I came to Balkis, a small village in northwest Turkey in search of the ruins of the ancient city of Kyzikos. As I turned off the road and pulled into the lot of a small cafe, the eyes of a dozen men stared at me. In Turkey men commonly gather at the village cafe and sip çay (tea) at tables outside. I was a stranger, and they don't typically see many strangers in Balkis. After a few customary greetings, I was invited to sit and offered çay. I don't like çay, but I drank it anyway, knowing that I was making a connection with the villagers. Whatever discussions the men were having prior to my arrival were now suspended, and I was the focus of their attention. In short order, the questions came: "Where are you from?" and "What are you doing here?" I explained that I was a professor at an American university, and I was interested in examining the ancient ruins of Kyzikos. Most of the men were not familiar with the name Kyzikos, but I explained that I was looking for an ancient city located in the woods and surrounding countryside. Most of the men knew of ruins that existed out in the brush, but they didn't know anything about them. After a bit of discussion, the men determined that Ahmet (not his real name), one of the men, should accompany me to the ruins.

Ahmet spent the rest of the day showing me the extensive ruins of ancient Kyzikos. Of particular interest were the ruins of the ancient amphitheater. Only three amphitheaters are known in ancient Anatolia, and one of them is in Kyzikos. We trekked through trees and heavy brush for two hours before arriving at the amphitheater ruins.

At the end of the day, Ahmet insisted that I have dinner with him and his family. Ahmet actually lives within the Roman baths of Kyzikos. Before dinner Ahmet introduced me to his neighbor, who had returned from prison about a year previously. His neighbor had been caught trying to sell antiquities on the black market. He explained to



MARK R. FAIRCHILD

CONTINUES ON PAGE 68

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Ammon, Moab and Edom Gods & Kingdoms East of the Jordan

Joel S. Burnett

ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NO AMMONITE, MOABITE OR Edomite Bible, a growing wealth of archaeological and epigraphic evidence from Jordan substantiates the existence of these Iron Age kingdoms closest to Israel and Judah, just as presented in the Hebrew Bible. My work as a historian of Israelite religion has led me through an ongoing firsthand exploration of this material east of the Jordan River, most recently, a larger-than-life statue of an Ammonite king, the first Iron Age statue on this scale ever discovered east or west of the Jordan. These discoveries in Jordan reveal Iron Age kingdoms that, like Israel and Judah, formed on the basis of tribal structures, named their own kings and worshiped their own national gods.

We know them in the Bible and increasingly in archaeology as Ammon, Moab and Edom.



AMMONITE KING. Holding a drooping lotus flower and wearing a headband or diadem, this statuette depicts the Ammonite king Yarḥ-ʿAzar. Found in the Amman Citadel, the 14-inch-tall limestone statuette dates to the late eighth century B.C.E. and is currently kept in the Jordan Archaeological Museum in Amman, Jordan. A two-line inscription on the statue's pedestal identifies the figure as "Yarḥ-ʿAzar, [son of Za]kir, son of Shanib." Shanib, Yarḥ-ʿAzar's grandfather, submitted to the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III in approximately 734 B.C.E.

The statue's now-vacant eyes originally would have been inlaid with ivory, shell or stone. Additionally, traces of the statue's original red slip can still be seen.



AMMON

The Hebrew Bible's usual designation of the Ammonites as "the children of Ammon" (*bēnē 'Ammôn*, e.g., 1 Kings 11:7, 33) matches the threefold reference in the Ammonite Tell Siran Inscription, "the king of the children of Ammon" (*mlk bn 'mn*; c. 600 B.C.E.; cf. *mlk bny 'mwn*, Jeremiah 27:3).^{*} This kin-based formulation of political identity reflects a tribal social makeup and kingdom organization analogous to that of ancient Israel, "the children of Israel" (*bēnē yisrā'ēl*).

^{*}P. Kyle McCarter Jr., *Ancient Inscriptions: Voices from the Biblical World* (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1996), pp. 98–99.

The Ammonite heartland comprised the north-central Transjordanian Plateau encircled by the upper Jabbok (modern Wadi Zarqa), within a 12.5-mile radius of its capital at the headwaters of the Jabbok, *Rabbah*, "the Great (City)," or *Rabbat bēnē 'Ammôn*, "the Great (City) of the Children of Ammon" (2 Samuel 12:26, 29), the modern Amman Citadel (Jabal al-Qal'a).

Archaeological excavations at the Amman Citadel over the past five decades have unearthed monumental architectural remains from the Iron Age II (1000–580 B.C.E.), including portions of the city's defense walls and water system. The excavations also exposed a large building complex resembling an



Deir 'Alla Inscription

The east Jordan Valley site of Deir 'Alla was the place of a Late Bronze Age (1550–1200 B.C.E.) sanctuary and is best known for its Iron Age plaster inscription relaying a vision of doom pronounced by "Balaam, son of Beor," the prophetic figure who appears in Numbers 22–24 and other Biblical texts. (Part of the inscription mentioning Balaam is pictured above; the box marks the end of Balaam's name and his patronymic: "[Balaa]m son of Beor.") Both the Balaam inscription and its archaeological context (radiocarbon-dated to c. 800 B.C.E.) lack any features supporting a distinctly Israelite cultural or political identity for the site during this period. Although the inscription's letter forms relate to the Ammonite national script that began developing at this time, the inscription's language is not Ammonite but, rather, in keeping with the site's location, somewhere on the

dialect continuum among Hebrew, Ammonite, Moabite and Aramaic of the surrounding kingdoms. Briefer inscriptions are written in standard Aramaic of the day. These factors combine to suggest that Deir 'Alla during the time of the Balaam inscription (c. 800 B.C.E.) fell under the hegemony of Damascus, following Hazael's extensive conquests in the region and claims over all Israelite territory in Transjordan as stated in 2 Kings 10:32–33.

In the inscription, Balaam communicates with an assembly of deities headed by the god El and designated collectively as the *Ilahin* and *Shaddayin*. The only other deity singled out in the surviving text is a goddess whose name is lost to a break in the plaster—but who plays a central role in the divine assembly's call for a cataclysmic disruption of life on earth. Since Deir 'Alla is located between highland political centers, it is fitting that the inscription identifies

with the divine realm at the level of the divine assembly under El, surmounting and encompassing the various national gods, rather than at the level of national religion. With Israel's late-ninth-century loss of control over its Transjordanian territories, it is not Yahweh but the higher level of the pantheon centering around El that becomes the backdrop of the vision. This tacitly supports Damascus's hegemonic claims over this territory.

The Deir 'Alla Inscription provides a counterexample to the projections of national identity embodied by national gods in contemporary stone inscriptions: the Amman Citadel Inscription, Mesha Stele and Tel Dan Stele. During the Iron Age, this longstanding pantheon of Syria-Palestine is assumed as an international framework organizing these national religious identities of the region and rationalizing territorial losses in battle.



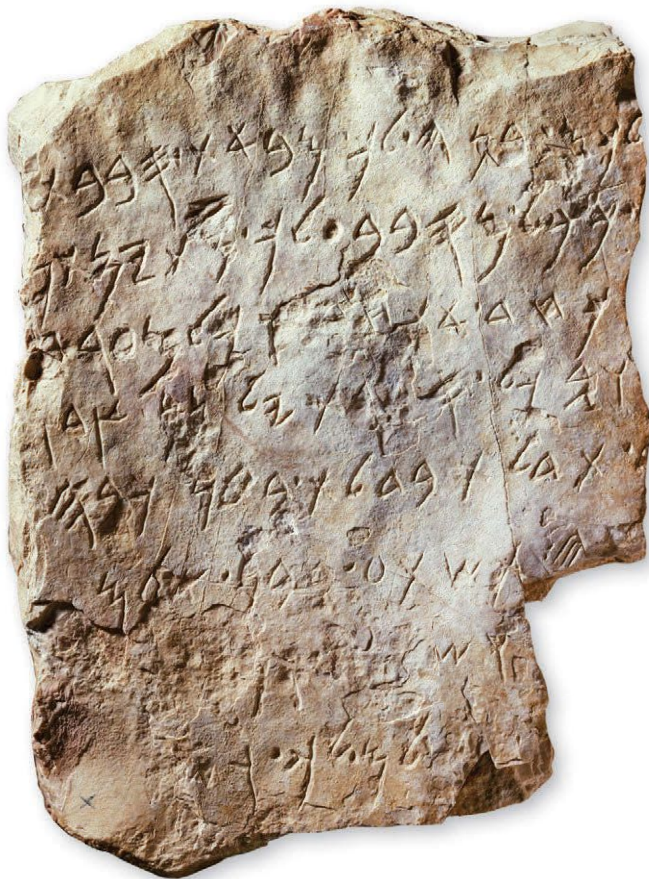
THE AMMAN CITADEL in downtown Amman, Jordan, is one of seven hills that comprised the Ammonites' capital, Rabbah. A large Iron Age structure—built of limestone boulders—lies buried on this hill, most of which is concealed underneath the later Roman-period temple to Hercules, pictured here. Several votive figurines were found in this structure. The presence of these figurines, as well as the structure's size and location, have led some to conjecture that this might be the main temple to Milcom, the Ammonites' primary deity.

Also discovered at the Amman Citadel is a ninth-century B.C.E. inscription. Written in Ammonite, the Amman Citadel Inscription (right) is probably a building inscription, but since it is incomplete, its original purpose cannot be determined definitively. The Ammonite god Milcom is mentioned at the beginning of the inscription.

Assyrian palace on the lower terrace. Running beneath a later Roman-period temple to Hercules, still visible today, are remains of an Iron Age megalithic building of limestone boulders containing several votive figurines, possibly the Ammonite kingdom's main temple to its leading deity.**1

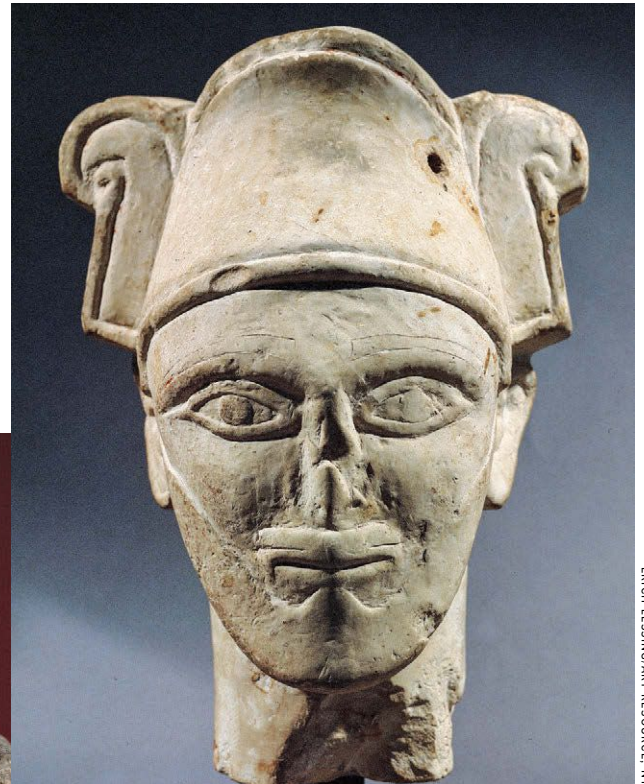
References to building and architectural terms in the first-person speech of a king or god make up the

**Timothy P. Harrison, "Rabbath of the Ammonites," *Archaeology Odyssey*, March/April 2002.

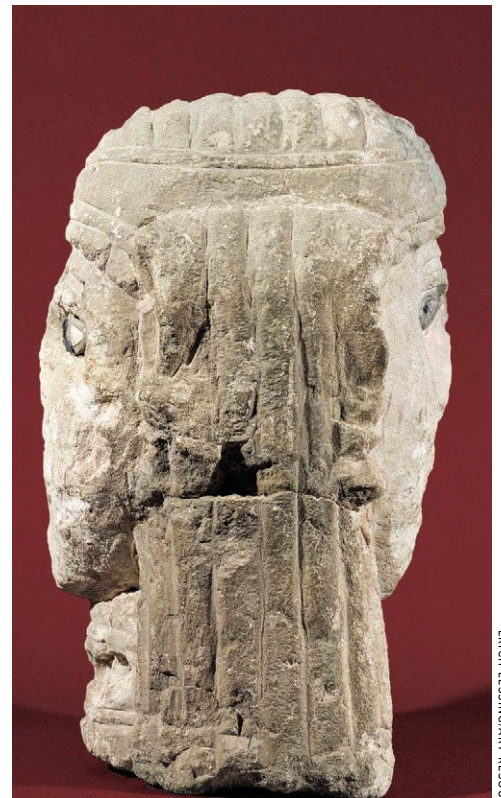


PHOTOGRAPH BY BRUCE AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH, COURTESY DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, JORDAN

AMMONITE DEITIES. Several Iron Age depictions of Milcom, the main god of the Ammonites, have survived from Rabbah; one is pictured to the right. Bearded and stern-faced, Milcom wears an Egyptian crown, a symbol of a deity in Syria-Palestine. No Ammonite goddess is identified in the Bible, but it is possible that the below double-faced sculpted head (see side view, bottom right) from the Amman Citadel portrays an Ammonite goddess. Both of these statues would have had inlaid eyes (see the remaining inlaid eye on the goddess, bottom left), and the holes in the goddess's neck would have been inlaid with jewelry.



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apparent focus of the famous Amman Citadel Inscription, dating to the late ninth century B.C.E.* The inscription begins with a partially restored mention of Milcom, regularly named in the Hebrew Bible as the leading god of the Ammonites (see, e.g., 1 Kings 11:5, 33; 2 Kings 23:13). Milcom is also invoked in personal names, including the name of a royal official—"Milkom'ur servant of Baalyasha"—on a clay seal impression from excavations at Tall al-'Umayri, dating to c. 600 B.C.E. Baalyasha is identified with the Ammonite King Baalis mentioned in Jeremiah 40:14. Just as the worship of Yahweh set Israelites apart from other peoples during the Iron Age II, so did the Ammonites' worship of Milcom distinguish them from their closest neighbors and rivals.

The Ammonite god Milcom receives artistic representation in a series of stern-faced (usually bearded) stone statues and sculpted heads from Amman wearing a variant of the Egyptian *atef* crown, an emblem depicting deities in Syria-Palestine since the second millennium B.C.E.² A collection of double-faced female sculpted heads in limestone from the Amman Citadel might represent a goddess or group of Ammonite goddesses within an architectural design.

Ammonite stone sculpture also includes depictions of human royal figures. For example, the inscribed limestone statuette of Yarḥ-'Azar is identified as the grandson of Shanib, perhaps the Ammonite king mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III around 734 B.C.E.³ And now we can include a monumental basalt statue of an Ammonite king preserved to more than 6.5 feet in height and excavated in 2010 in front of the Roman theater in downtown Amman.⁴ These two statues portray human royal figures not wearing a crown but, rather, wearing a headband or diadem with the head uncovered. Both figures hold a drooping lotus flower, also of Egyptian derivation, representing a deceased ruler in the art of Syria-Palestine. This larger-than-life image of an Iron Age king is the first statue of this size ever discovered east or west of the Jordan.

*P. Kyle McCarter Jr., "A Voice of Their Own: Ammonite Inscriptions," *Archaeology Odyssey*, March/April 2002.

STATELY AMMONITE KING. In 2010 this large statue of an Ammonite king was uncovered in Rabbah, the ancient capital of the Ammonites located in present-day Amman, Jordan. Although it was found next to the Roman theater in downtown Amman, the statue itself dates to a much earlier period—the Iron Age. Made of basalt and standing at more than 6.5 feet tall, the bearded statue wears a headband or diadem and holds a drooping lotus figure, which was a symbol of deceased royalty.



JOEL S. BURNETT



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MESHA STELE. Almost 4 feet tall and 2 feet wide, the Mesha Stele from the ninth century B.C.E. is the longest Moabite inscription. Its 34-line-long text chronicles how the Moabites were subjected to Israelite rule until King Mesha—with the divine help of Chemosh, the main Moabite deity—overthrew the Moabites’ oppressors. The first European to see the Mesha Stele was Anglican missionary Frederick Augustus Klein. In 1868, local Bedouin led him to the basalt stone at Dhiban (Biblical Dibon, the capital of the Kingdom of Moab). Arrangements were immediately made to purchase the stone on behalf of the Prussian government and Berlin Museum, but this deal fell through.

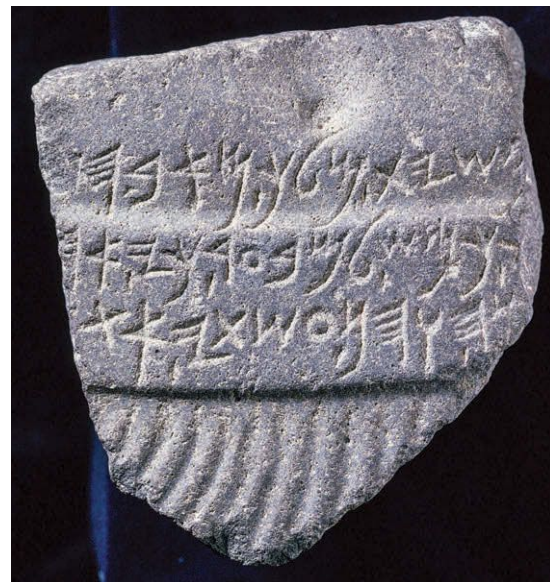
Before new arrangements could be made that were acceptable to all parties, the locals broke the stele into countless pieces by placing it on a fire. The fragments were then distributed among the people of Dhiban. French diplomat and archaeologist Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau worked diligently to track down and purchase the various fragments; he and others managed to recover two-thirds of them, all of which were eventually given to the Louvre, where they are on display. The fragments were pieced together with the aid of a paper squeeze, which had been made of the entire inscription before the stele was broken. In the left image, the actual fragments of the Mesha Stele appear lighter than the surrounding black portion of the stele that represents the text reconstructed from the squeeze.

MOAB

Turning to Moab, the famous Mesha Stele (c. 840 B.C.E.) presents the longest Iron Age epigraphic text surviving from the southern Levant. The basalt stone monument once stood in Mesha’s capital, Dibon (modern Dhiban), marking a worship place the king built in honor of Moab’s god Chemosh, whom Mesha credits in the inscription with his achievements of territorial expansion, building cities and defeating enemies. The principal enemy in the inscription is the northern Israelite kingdom previously ruled by Omri and “his son.”* According to Mesha, Moab had suffered in the past under these

*P.M. Michèle Daviau and Paul-Eugène Dion, “Moab Comes to Life,” *BAR*, January/February 2002; Siegfried H. Horn, “Why the Moabite Stone Was Blown to Pieces,” *BAR*, May/June 1986.

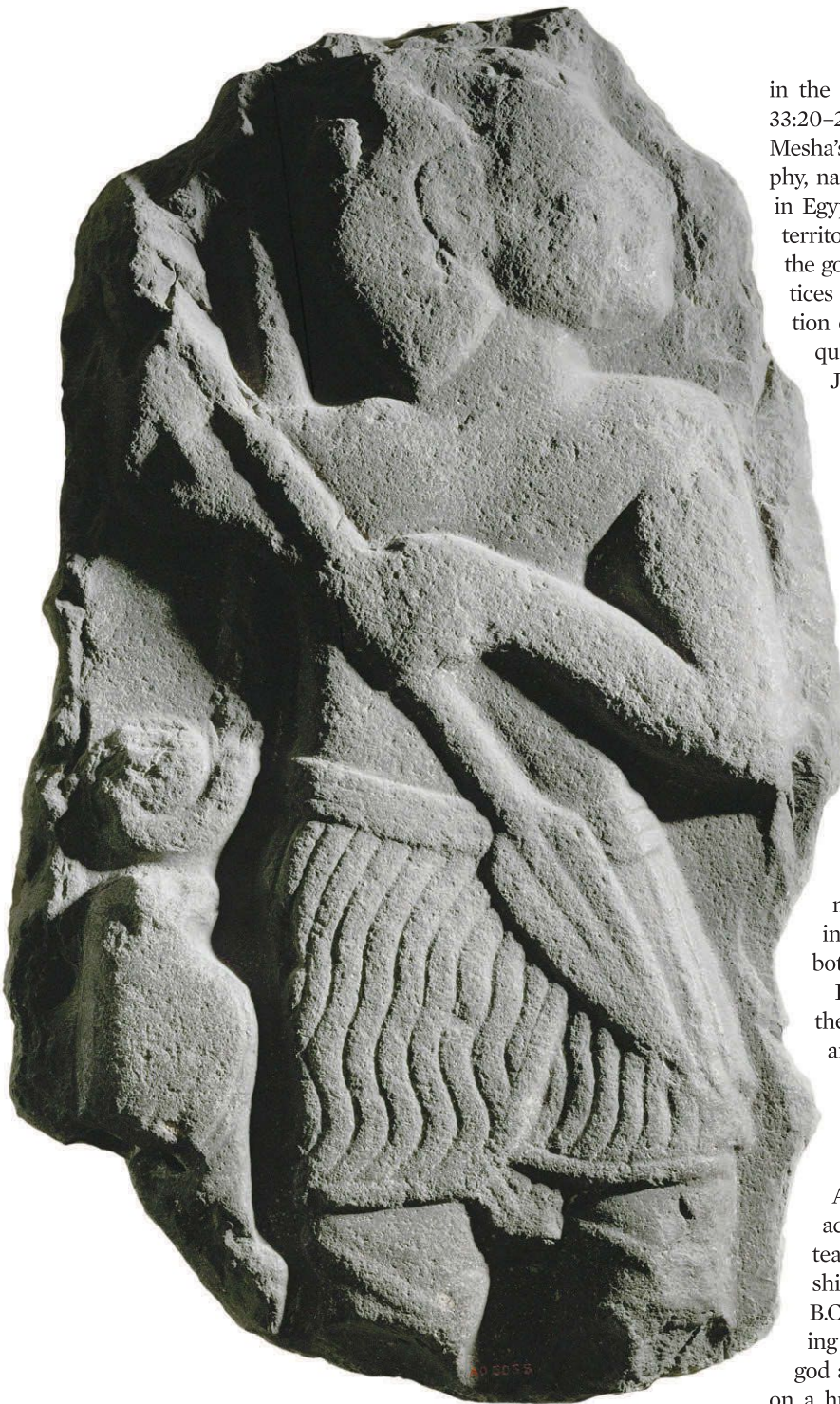
KERAK INSCRIPTION. Discovered in 1958 at Kerak, Jordan, the fragmentary Kerak Inscription is another Moabite inscription dated to the ninth century B.C.E. Originally part of a stone statue or relief, the inscription mentions the Moabite king Chemoshyat, the father of Mesha, and Chemosh, the Moabites’ main god. The inscription was probably commissioned by King Chemoshyat or by his son, King Mesha. Measuring about 5 inches high and 5.5 inches wide, the fragment consists of three lines of text written in Moabite very similar to that seen on the Mesha Stele.



PHOTOGRAPH BY BRUCE AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH, COURTESY DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, JORDAN



BALUA' STELE. The Balua' Stele—usually dated to the later part of the Late Bronze Age (1400–1100 B.C.E.)—depicts three figures: a king or chieftain flanked by a god on the left and a goddess on the right. Both of the gods appear in Egyptian-style attire, while the central figure wears a *Shasu* headdress, an emblem typically used in Egyptian iconography to denote pastoral peoples from Transjordan. The god—possibly the Moabite god Chemosh—hands the central figure a scepter; this scene connotes the figure's divine right to rule. Coming from the Iron Age site of Balua' in Jordan, the stele is about 6 feet tall and 3 feet wide and includes several lines of undeciphered writing.



THE SHIHAN RELIEF depicts a bare-chested man holding a spear. This warrior figure wears a kilt and headdress with a long streamer or braid ending in a curl that extends down his back. An animal is depicted below this curl. This scene, which displays Egyptian influences, was chiseled out of a larger basalt stele. The Shihan relief fragment was discovered in Jordan in 1851 and is now at the Louvre.

in the Hebrew Bible (Genesis 49:19; Deuteronomy 33:20–21; etc.). Though built on this tribal basis, Mesha's kingdom is identified primarily by geography, namely, the ancient country of Moab appearing in Egyptian texts centuries earlier and united from territorial segments through warfare in the name of the god Chemosh.⁶ Like ancient Israel, Moab's practices of ritual warfare included *herem*, the execution of whole populations in devotion to the vanquishing deity (Deuteronomy 13:15; 20:16–17; Joshua 6:17–19; etc.).

The Mesha Stele views Moab and Israel as analogous kingdoms in irreconcilable opposition: each with its own territory, people, king, royal lineage (Chemoshyat and Mesha vs. Omri and “his son”) and god (Chemosh vs. Yahweh). These oppositions resolved at the boundaries through warfare, conquest and *herem*.⁷

The full name of Mesha's father in the Mesha Stele (*kms[yt]*) is supplemented in the Kerak Inscription fragment, another monumental inscription on stone in the same Moabite language, with a similar script of comparable date, that begins with the same formulary naming of the “King of Moab.”⁸

These and other Moabite inscriptions, monumental architecture and royal sculpture indicate a Moabite kingdom spanning territory both north and south of the Arnon River.

Like the Ammonites, the Moabites developed their own sculptural forms drawing on broader ancient Near Eastern artistic traditions, portraying divine support of royal power. Monumental basalt sculpture from the land of Moab includes several impressive examples, most prominently the stele from the Iron Age site of Balua', which guarded southern access to the Arnon River from the Kerak Plateau. The Balua' Stele (which recent scholarship has dated variously between 1400 and 800 B.C.E.) displays a section of undeciphered writing and a relief scene showing an Egyptian-style god and goddess conferring emblems of authority on a human leader wearing a *Shasu* headdress, an emblem recognized from Egyptian artistic depictions. The Egyptian term *Shasu* refers to mobile pastoral peoples with a kin-based social and political structure, often in connection with southern Transjordan in Egyptian texts of the 19th Dynasty (13th–early 12th centuries B.C.E.).⁹ At the Arnon River crossing, the Balua' Stele reflects a vision of divinely sanctioned kingship on the basis of tribal political



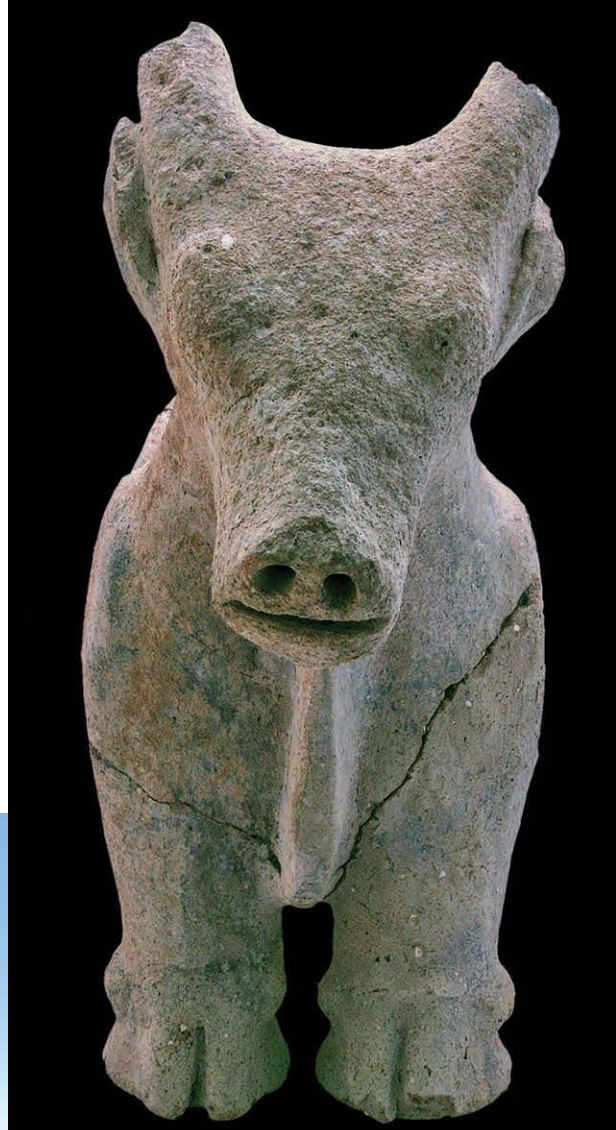
ROBERT CHADWICK

ROBERT CHADWICK

MOABITE ALTARS. Many Moabite altars were found at Khirbat al-Mudayna (Mudeiniyeh), an outpost about 10.5 miles northeast of Dibon and 20.5 miles east of the Dead Sea. Three limestone altars (two of which are pictured) surfaced during excavations of a small temple near the town's gate in 1999; all of them were originally broken but have been reconstructed. Measuring about 2.5 feet tall, the rectangular shaft altar (above) has a drain hole (see top left image), indicating that this altar was used for pouring libations. Traces of paint have been found on this altar. Another tall conical altar from the temple (right) likely functioned as an incense altar. Standing 3.15 feet tall, this altar bears a Moabite inscription that identifies its maker and owner.



JOEL S. BURNETT



BOB BATES



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EDOM

THE 'AṬARUZ TEMPLE, a ninth-century B.C.E. Moabite temple (bottom left), has been uncovered at Khirbat 'Aṭaruz, a site identified with Biblical Ataroth and located in Jordan about 7 miles east of the Dead Sea. Many cultic artifacts were found in this Iron Age temple, including a ceramic bull statue (top right) and a terracotta shrine model (top left)—both of which date to the ninth century B.C.E. The bull statue was uncovered in the temple's central courtyard, and the terracotta shrine model came from the temple's main sanctuary. This fenestrated multi-story shrine model was originally painted and has two male figures standing in two of its openings.

authority, suggesting formative dynamics for the Iron Age II Kingdom of Moab.

The Shihan (or Rujm el-Abd) relief discovered just a few miles northwest of Balau' shows a warrior figure wielding a spear and reflects Egyptian artistic motifs.¹⁰ A basalt orthostat from Kerak in the form of a lion resembles Neo-Hittite and Aramean palace and temple traditions in Syria.¹¹

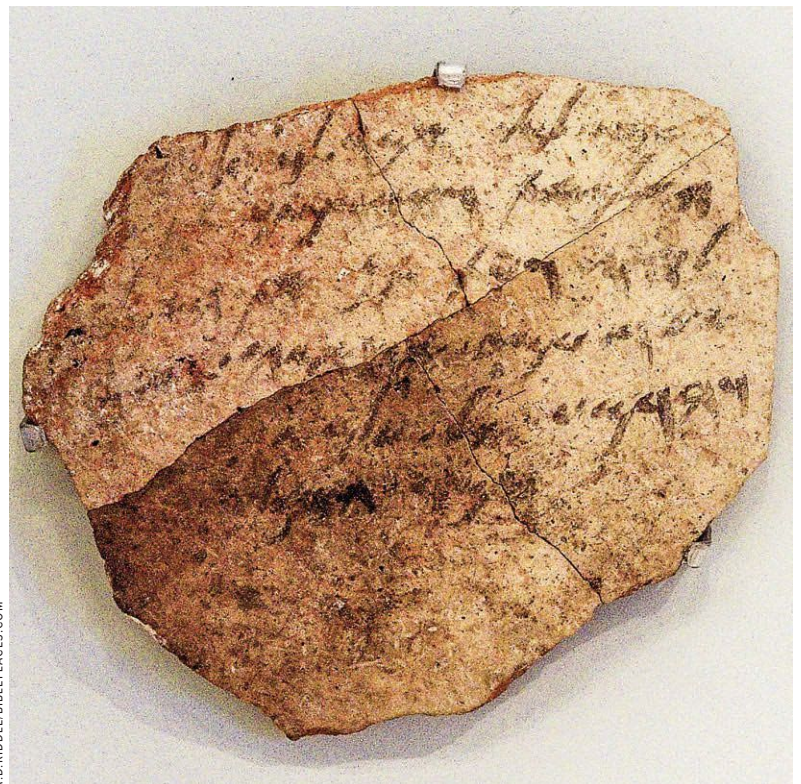
Recent archaeological discoveries from Moab have added important religious evidence for the Iron Age. These include a plethora of limestone altars from the fortified outpost of Khirbat al-Mudayna (Mudeiniyeh).¹² A small temple just inside the town's six-chambered fortified gate yielded three limestone altars ranging in height from c. 19.5 to 37.5 inches, one of which is a rectangular shaft altar for pouring libations (as indicated by a drain hole).¹³

The archaeological site Khirbat 'Aṭaruz about 7 miles east of the Dead Sea has been identified with Ataroth, which is mentioned in the Mesha Stele as a town of Israelite Gad that the king of Moab conquered and from which he pillaged an important cultic item ("the altar hearth [?] of its DWD"). Excavations at 'Aṭaruz have revealed an elaborate temple complex yielding spectacular cultic artifacts, including a ceramic bull statue and a multi-story shrine model with male figurines attached.¹⁴ The 'Aṭaruz temple complex has also yielded a cylindrical sculpted stone pedestal, ostensibly part of an altar or other cultic object, bearing an inscription dated to the ninth century B.C.E.¹⁵

EDOMITE INSCRIPTION: "I BLESS YOU BY QAUS." A short Edomite letter written on this ostracon and dated to the early sixth century B.C.E. was found at Ḥorvat 'Uza, a possible Edomite place of worship. Originally Ḥorvat 'Uza was a Judahite fortress site in the eastern Negev, but it was conquered by the Edomites—likely around the time that Judah fell to the Babylonians (586 B.C.E.). This inscription opens with a salutation and then invokes a blessing by the leading Edomite deity, Qos (or Qaus). This letter instructs its recipient, probably the commander of the Edomite fort, to give its bearer some food or to send a shipment of grain.

Like Moab, Edom figures primarily as a territorial designation in Late Bronze Age Egyptian texts and in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Genesis 32:4; 1 Kings 11:14–16). As reflected in Biblical etiologies connecting to Esau (Genesis 25:25, 30), Edom refers to the mountainous "red" land of sandstone, granite and soil east of the Arabah, extending south of the Zered (modern Wadi Hasa) to the Gulf of Aqaba. Along with the closely associated place-name Seir (cf. Genesis 36:8–9, 21), Edom appears in Egyptian texts with frequent associations to the tent-dwelling mobile pastoralists designated *Shasu*.¹⁶ These Egyptian references to Edom's *Shasu* peoples may provide the textual background for the kin-based population known from the enormous cemetery labeled Wadi Fidan 40 at the entrance to the Faynan wadi system in the northeast Arabah.¹⁷

The god Qaus/Qos is by far the most frequently invoked deity in Edomite personal names from various inscriptions. The role of Qos as Edom's leading deity receives further corroboration from the names of Edomite kings mentioned in Assyrian sources.¹⁸ A royal seal impression of "Qaus-ga[bri], King of E[dom]" (*qws g[br]/ mlk '[dm]*) was recovered from a palace on Umm el-Biyara in Petra.¹⁹ The deity's



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name was also found on a vessel sherd from Busayra (Buseira), whose impressive architecture indicates the site's status as the Edomite royal city by the late eighth century B.C.E.²⁰ At Tell el-Kheleifeh near the Gulf of Aqaba shore, multiple impressions come from the seal of a royal official, "Qos'anal, servant of the king" (*lqws'nl / 'bd hmlk*).²¹

The Hebrew Bible's mysterious silence regarding Qos, or any Edomite deity for that matter,²² along with Yahweh's associations with the territory of Edom and its vicinity in Biblical poetry (Judges 5:4; Habakkuk 3:3, 7) and the Biblical traditions of Edom's "brotherhood," may reflect a possible close connection—if not an original equation—between Israelite Yahweh and Edomite Qos.

The best-preserved candidates for Edomite worship places have been excavated not in Edom proper

EDOMITE GODDESS AND SPHINX. A large assemblage of Edomite figurines, statuettes, stands and other cultic vessels was uncovered at the site of Horvat Qitmit in southern Judah. Notable among this collection are an Edomite goddess figurine wearing a three-horned head-dress (right) dated to the late seventh or early sixth century B.C.E. and a sphinx (above). The 8-inch-long sphinx figurine has the face of a human, wings of an eagle and the body of a bull or lion. The large eyes and protruding noses on these two figurines are distinctive characteristics of Edomite figures.

but west of the Arabah in the southeastern Negev, where Qos is invoked during the late seventh or early sixth century B.C.E., in an epistolary blessing in the Horvat 'Uza ostrakon inscription and in dedication inscriptions engraved on vessel rims at the

"EDOMITE GODDESS, QITMIT" BY CHAMBERI IS LICENSED UNDER CC-BY-2.0





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EDOMITE ASSEMBLAGE. A cache of Edomite ritual vessels was excavated from a repository (a storage pit) next to an Iron Age II fortress at the site of Ein Hazeva, which is located about 14 miles south of the Dead Sea. The site may be Biblical Tamar at the southern boundary of King Solomon's empire. The cache includes ceramic incense stands, statues and other objects, as well as stone altars, which were used in the site's open-air Edomite shrine from the seventh century B.C.E. Some of the incense stands feature human limbs and faces. The bowls on top are decorated with buds and would have been used for burning incense or other offerings.

sanctuary site of Ḥorvat Qitmit.²³ It is at Qitmit that some scholars recognize the most abundant assemblage of evidence for Edomite worship, including Edomite pottery, ceramic cylindrical statuettes and stands, figurines and cultic vessels.²⁴ At Ein Hazeva in the northwest Arabah, a similar assemblage of ceramic

KING OF EDMON. A seal impression of an Edomite king found in a palace built on the hill Umm el-Biyara at the famous site of Petra, Jordan, reads "Qaus-ga[bri], King of E[dom]." The name Qaus-ga[bri] is theophoric—bearing the name of the Edomite god Qos (or Qaus).



statues and other objects was excavated from a pit outside the Iron II fortress.²⁵ Renewed excavations at Busayra (Buseira) by Benjamin W. Porter hold promise for new discoveries on religion in Edom proper.

How do these kingdoms compare with Israel and Judah on the other side of the Jordan River? As we have seen, Israel, Judah and these Transjordanian kingdoms are similar in many respects. Each had its own national god. Each was a tribal kingdom. Each battled against the others over territory and boundaries. Israel even claimed territory east of the Jordan.

Yet from Israel we do not have a single piece of monumental sculpture comparable to those from Ammon and Moab. When it comes to inscriptions, the disparity is even more dramatic. The great inscriptions confirming the history (even the very existence) of Israel and Judah and shedding light on national (and international) religious life come from kings and kingdoms *other* than Judah and Israel—most important, the Mesha Stele, the Tel Dan Stele and the Balaam inscription from Deir 'Alla.

CONTINUES ON PAGE 66

INSET: BENJAMIN SASS



Pigs as an Ethnic Marker?

You Are What You Eat

Lidar Sapir-Hen

*“Swine ... is unclean for you. You shall not eat
of their flesh or touch their carcasses.”*

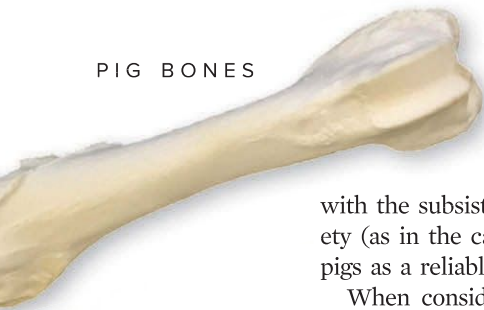
(Deuteronomy 14:8; also Leviticus 11:7)

IF YOU’RE EXCAVATING IN ANCIENT ISRAEL or thereabouts and find a lot of pig bones, you can be pretty sure the place isn’t Israelite. Or so it was thought. Recent scholarship¹ indicates that the issue is not so easy or straightforward. As so often happens in modern scholarship, the matter is more complicated.

Because of the Biblical prohibitions against pork consumption (Leviticus 11:7; Deuteronomy 14:8), eating—or not eating—pork is a commonly used ethnic marker by modern scholarship distinguishing between Israelites and Philistines of the Iron Age southern Levant. The most straightforward aspect of studying pork avoidance in archaeological context is based on the analysis of zooarchaeological assemblages (animal bones) and the identification of the pig’s relative contribution to the food consumption. This approach was established a quarter century ago based on the work of the American

scholar Brian Hesse, whose comprehensive study demonstrated that pig frequencies at sites from the Iron Age (1130–586 B.C.E.) were very low, except for Philistine sites, which showed a dramatic increase in pig bones since the onset of that period when the Philistines were thought to have arrived here.² This analysis led some scholars to speculate that absence or presence of pigs is the best way to shed light on ethnic boundaries in the Iron Age, suggesting that pork avoidance drew an identity-line between early Israelites and Philistines.³

Despite this pattern, spousal colleagues Hesse (Hesse passed away in 2011) and Paula Wapnish (and others since) suggested caution in using pork consumption as an ethnic marker because various other factors also influence the decision to raise pigs: for example, economic and political factors, ecological aspects of local environments and the functions of sites.⁴ High frequencies of pigs were also correlated



with the subsistence strategy of a newcomers' society (as in the case of the Philistines) dependent on pigs as a reliable source of meat.

When considering human attitudes toward raising pigs, it is also important to explore both their history and nature. Starting in the third millennium B.C.E., the decision to raise pigs as part of the livestock economy has been affected by a combination of environmental, economic and social factors. In the archaeological assemblages of the southern Levant, pig bones' frequency is usually significantly lower compared to sheep, goat and cattle bones, which have dominated the livestock economy since the Bronze Age. Pigs breed fast and produce many offspring; they do not need to be driven to pasture when there is enough available food, such as vegetables and animal waste. These factors substantially increase their suitability for being raised at the household level. Moreover, they need to be raised near a water source. They cannot be driven far; hence domestic pigs are not suitable for nomadic life.

As the taboo on pig dictates avoidance of its meat, the practice is amenable to archaeological study. Recent studies of livestock economy in the Iron Age pay special attention to the presence or absence of pigs and their cultural associations. During the past 25 years since Hesse's publication, numerous zooarchaeological studies of the Iron Age have been published, including new data on pig frequencies. Fine-tuning the data for the chronological phases of the Iron Age, a group of colleagues and I have reassessed the notion that pork consumption can distinguish between Canaanites and Philistines during the Iron Age.⁵ The results of this study show that the situation in both Iron I and Iron II is more complex than has been previously suggested.

In Iron I Philistia, the large number of pigs is characteristic of the main urban sites (Ashdod and Mique/Ekron), but not of the smaller settlements and the rural area of Philistia (Tel Aphek, Tel Qasile and Qubur el-Walayidah), where almost no pig remains were found.⁶ Avraham Faust and Justin Lev-Tov argued that this dichotomy demonstrates that the rural sector was not actually inhabited by

Philistines, but rather by local groups that avoided pork.⁷ However, while the inhabitants of the rural sector might be a compilation of ethnicities, rather than solely Philistine immigrants, these rural sites are located in Philistine territory and do display Philistine material culture.

What then is the reason for the high frequencies of pigs in Philistine urban centers? Perhaps because of the Philistine immigrant identity, they relied on pigs as a stable and affordable meat source in their early days in the Levant.

Based on their study of ancient DNA, Meirav Meiri and colleagues have shown that foreign (European) pigs became dominant during the Iron Age, while earlier pigs were of local Near Eastern origin.⁸ This data supports the hypothesis that the Philistines—one group among the Sea Peoples who probably migrated to the Levant from various locations in the eastern Mediterranean—brought at least some of their pigs with them. Consuming large quantities of pig is a common characteristic of developing immigrant societies—as pigs provide a good meat-to-investment ratio—until their economy stabilizes. It might not be their “traditional” food from home, but it is a good, quick meat source and can be easily transported.

Later in the Iron Age IIC (680–586 B.C.E.), most Philistine sites show a decline in pork consumption. This change in Philistine diet is generally attributed to acculturation.⁹ Alternatively, Justin Lev-Tov suggests the decline at Tel Mique/Ekron is related to the city's incorporation into the economic system of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, as pork consumption is discouraged in times of centralized power.¹⁰

Outside Philistia, pig bones are absent in all Iron I sites, whether they are Canaanite centers, Aramaean or Phoenician, etc. Our team observed a strange dichotomy in pork consumption in the Iron Age IIB (780–680 B.C.E.) outside of Philistia, between the northern Kingdom of Israel (where pigs appear in significant numbers) and the southern Kingdom of Judah (where pigs are largely absent). The animal bone evidence shows that the pigs found at Israelite sites were



JOE FERRARO, BAYLOR UNIVERSITY, COURTESY OF DEIRDRE FULTON



JOE FERRARO, BAYLOR UNIVERSITY, COURTESY OF DEIRDRE FULTON

ISRAELITES KEEPING KOSHER? It has long been thought that if pig bones are uncovered in an excavation within Israel, then that site was not Israelite. Recent studies are calling this into question. While pig bones are common within early Philistine urban centers, they are rare in the rural sector and throughout the southern Levant. On the flip side, during the period of the divided monarchy, pigs bones are found throughout the northern Kingdom of Israel—but not Judah. Therefore, the presence or absence of pigs cannot be used as a sole ethnic marker for identifying ancient Israelite or Philistine populations.

an important part of the local economy and were raised and consumed on-site. This shift in consumption in the northern Kingdom of Israel, compared to the previous periods, is likely due primarily to economic motivation, as they needed to provide an immediate and sufficient meat source for the growing population during a period of peak prosperity.¹¹

This increase in pork consumption in the Iron IIB is evident only in the northern Kingdom of Israel. Neighboring sites with Phoenician and Aramean material culture display no interest in pig husbandry. Similarly, pig remains are nearly absent from Iron IIB sites in the southern Kingdom of Judah. By the Iron Age IIC (680–586 B.C.E.), after the northern sites were destroyed by the Assyrians, Judahite sites continue avoiding pork, and most Philistine sites also show a decline in pork consumption.

In short, the situation is not so simple. The presence or absence of pig bones cannot *ipso facto* indicate the presence or absence of ancient Israelites.

New insights and new questions emerge from the newest data:

1. A common feature of all Iron I sites outside of Philistia is the absence of pig remains (or presence of relatively few). This is not restricted to one group (or region). While many factors could contribute to this, the fact that apparently no one eats pork prompts further questions.

2. Pork consumption is not indicative of a Philistine population or Philistia. New studies are needed to determine precise patterns of pig frequencies in urban centers versus rural sectors in Philistia.

3. A surprising dichotomy between Israel and Judah in terms of pork consumption is evident in the Iron Age IIB, when Philistia no longer consumed pork. This dichotomy may hint at the reason (or perhaps one of the reasons) behind the emergence of the pork taboo. It could have been directed not toward the Philistines, who had already begun losing their attraction to pork, but toward the northern Israelites, who had been eating pork and who had moved to Judah in the decades following the collapse of the northern kingdom in 720 B.C.E. 

NOTES ON PAGE 70



Relics in Rubble

The Temple Mount Sifting Project

Gabriel Barkay and Zachi Dvira

THE FIRST PART OF THIS ARTICLE IS BY ZACHI DVIRA; THE remainder is by Gabriel Barkay and Zachi Dvira.¹

The Temple Mount is surely one of the holiest sites in the world. Here King Solomon erected the Home of God—which stood until it was destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E. Here stood the Second Temple until it was destroyed by the Romans in 70 C.E. For Christians, the Temple Mount is the focal area in Jerusalem of the deeds of Jesus. For Muslims, it is the site of the prophet Muhammad’s ascension to heaven and their third holiest site.

In the late 1990s, the Northern Branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel under the auspices of the Jerusalem Islamic Waqf (the religious trust that manages the Islamic edifices on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem) decided to convert a large underground structure known as Solomon’s Stables (so named by the Crusaders) into a huge new mosque.

The Waqf brought heavy machinery to bulldoze a massive area in the southeastern corner of the Temple Mount for a stairway down to the new underground Al-Marwani Mosque. Working day and night for three days, without any archaeological supervision and in violation of the Antiquities Law of the State of Israel, they created space for a stairway

WHY WET-SIFTING? In Temple Mount earth, both stones and artifacts are coated with mud, dust and ash, making it difficult to differentiate the two. Hence the need to wet-sift, which involves soaking the material in buckets of water and then washing it on a sifting screen for half a minute. Wet-sifting has efficiently allowed identification of countless important artifacts that would have otherwise gone unnoticed.





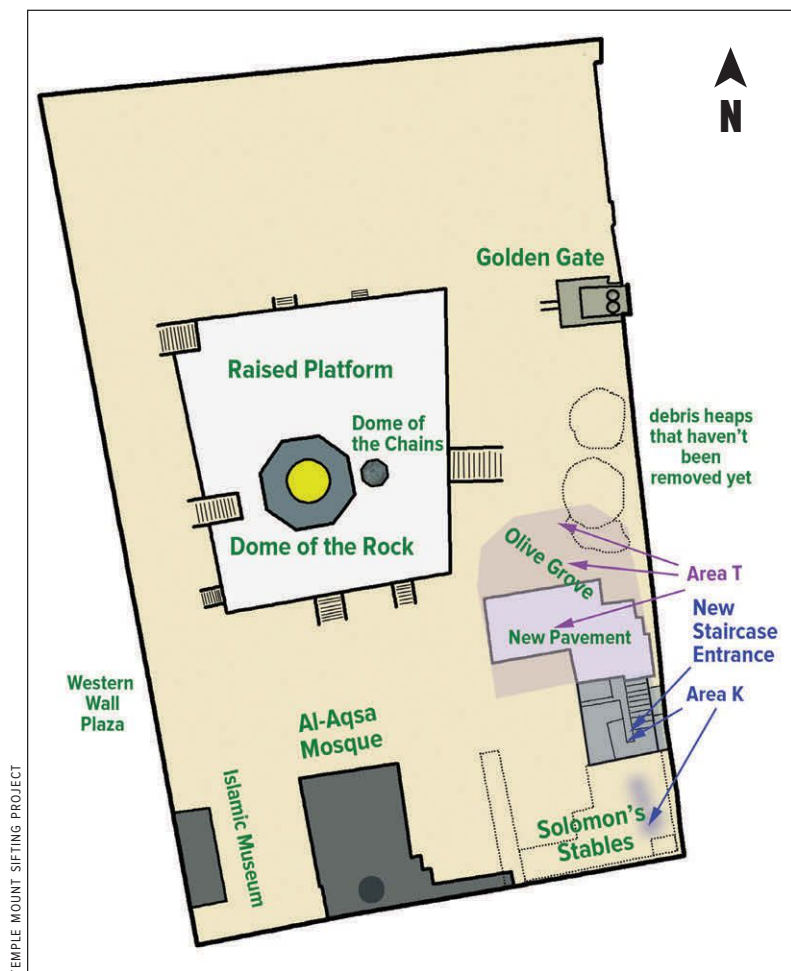
down to the mosque. The project was allowed to proceed for political reasons. In a later phase, the ground level in the southeastern area of the Temple Mount, north of the new pit, was lowered by about 1.5 feet to enable paving large parts of the area.

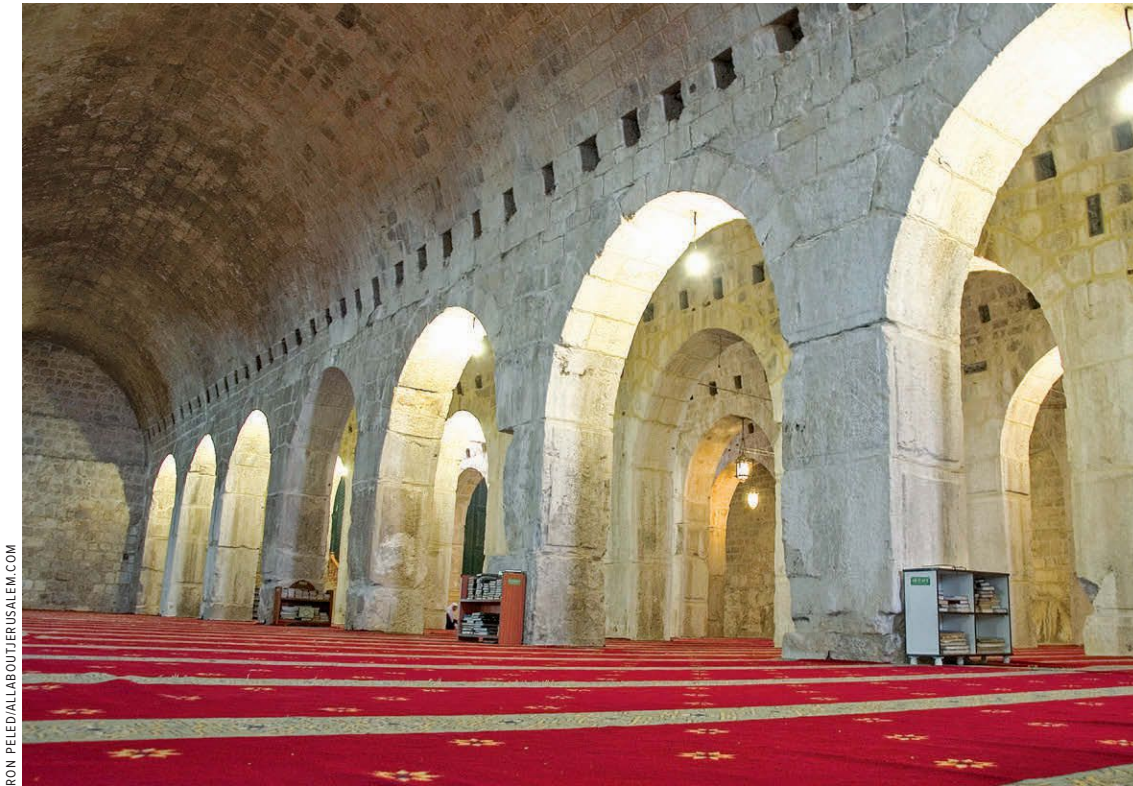
About 400 truckloads of archaeologically rich soil were removed—approximately 9,000 tons of soil—and unceremoniously dumped, mostly in the nearby Kidron Valley.

At that time, I was a student at Bar-Ilan University, and one of my professors was veteran archaeologist Gabriel Barkay. Together with my friend and fellow student, Aran Yardeni, we gathered a group of volunteers to undertake a little archaeological survey of the Kidron Valley dump, to examine its archaeological value and perhaps even retrieve some finds. Our arrival at the site quickly triggered a visit from inspectors from the anti-theft unit of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), who, in turn, summoned the police. They demanded that we hand over the artifacts we had collected and leave the site immediately. We managed to leave with a few artifacts later examined by Barkay.

We were invited to give a lecture about the finds at an archaeological conference at Bar-Ilan University. The talk raised a storm, and the IAA was widely criticized for allowing this archaeological atrocity to

WHERE THE DIRT WAS. Much of the dirt for the Temple Mount Sifting Project comes from the large pit on the Temple Mount created to accommodate the new stairway down to the Al-Marwani Mosque (Solomon's Stables) (see diagram left). Using heavy machinery, the Waqf illegally dug the stairway without archaeological supervision. Much of the dirt was dumped into the nearby Kidron Valley. The golden Dome of the Rock can be seen north-west of the new stairway in the picture below. The image above left shows a cross section of the earthen fill of the pit, which consists of many differently colored layers. The strata imply that the area north of Solomon's Stables was not filled at one time but, rather, gradually over an extended time.





RON PELED/ABOUTJERUSALEM.COM

occur. In contrast, the IAA accused me of antiquities theft and several days later, on January 17, 2000, raided my home and detained me for investigation at a police station. Eventually, the state pressed charges, accusing me of antiquities theft. The judge at the trial realized immediately that the charges were political and dismissed the case, asking the prosecution to retract the charges.

The truth is that the IAA was bound by the attorney general, who at the time prohibited the enforcement of the Antiquities Law on the Temple Mount. Because of its political sensitivity, the prime minister of Israel personally deals with such issues, and the measure of law enforcement always depends on the ideology and politics of the prime minister.

In 2001, we decided to create a systematic project to sift the soil from the dump in the Kidron Valley. It took us four years to raise the funds and overcome the bureaucratic obstacles before we could obtain an excavation permit.

In 2004, we began transferring precious dirt to camps we set up at Tzurim Valley National Park, overlooking the Old City of Jerusalem. Here we began to sift, and over the years we continued to move dirt from the Temple Mount debris dump in the Kidron Valley to the sifting site (a total of 322 truckloads, to date).

After all our efforts, the results were disappointing.

BELOW JERUSALEM'S TEMPLE MOUNT. Named Solomon's Stables by the Crusaders, this underground vaulted space is now a new Muslim prayer hall. In 1996 the Islamic Waqf began converting the area into a prayer hall and in 1999 added a new entrance and stairway down to the site, new floor and electric lighting. The Muslim authorities said the new mosque was needed to accommodate additional worshippers during Ramadan and on rainy days.

In the first two weeks, we tried sifting samples from various parts of the debris, but we found only small pieces of pottery. Although potsherds are an important source of archaeological data, we had expected a larger variety of categories of finds.

In considering why the finds were so limited, we recalled a short survey we had done in 1999. At that time, we were able to see pottery (and other finds) only after rain poured down on the dump in the area.

The soil from the Temple Mount contains large amounts of ash and dust that cover and coat both the natural stones and the archaeological finds, making it very difficult to differentiate between them. We tried using water in the sifting process, and the results were very successful. At the beginning, it was necessary to use large amounts of water over a lengthy period of time in order to dissolve the clumps of mud adhering to the finds, but later we found that if we first dry-sifted the soil and then



TEAMWORK! Archaeologist Zachi Dvira (left) early on recognized the importance of the displaced Temple Mount earth. Even after police interference and charges of antiquities theft, Dvira won the right to access the Temple Mount earthen dumps. He was soon joined by his professor, world-renowned archaeologist Gabriel Barkay (right).

into six main categories: pottery, glass, bones, stone tesserae (mosaic cubes), metal and special stones. Every sifting screen is checked by a staff member before the leftovers are discarded.

In a short time, the wet-sifting technique was adopted by others at excavations in Jerusalem and elsewhere around the country. Some prefer to hire our sifting services and deliver soil from their digs to our sifting facility. Since the wet-sifting method was introduced by our project, the number of seals and seal impressions found in Jerusalem has increased dramatically.

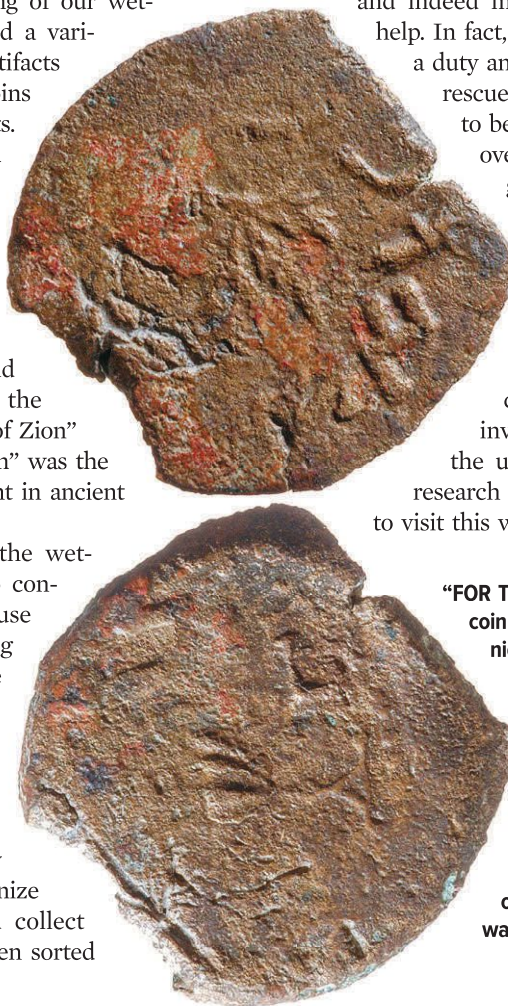
From the outset, it was evident that retrieving valuable information from such a vast amount of soil would require a large number of volunteers, and indeed many groups have offered their help. In fact, most of the volunteers see it as a duty and privilege to participate in this rescue effort. The project has proven to be meaningful for people from all over the world and has become a global educational undertaking that has drawn thousands of volunteers, including Israeli residents, tourists and student groups.

We are also encouraging the public and the archaeological community worldwide to be involved in researching some of the unidentified finds via an online research forum. **BAR** readers are invited to visit this website and share their thoughts

soaked the material in buckets of water, the dust and soil were very efficiently and rapidly removed, using only a small amount of water.

From the very beginning of our wet-sifting efforts, we recorded a variety of objects: jewelry, artifacts of warfare, bone tools, coins and architectural fragments. The first coin recovered in the sifting work was very exciting due to its symbolic nature. It was minted during the First Jewish Revolt against Rome that preceded the destruction of the Second Temple.² The coin bore the phrase “For the Freedom of Zion” (חֵרֶת צִיּוֹן). The name “Zion” was the name of the Temple Mount in ancient times.

Gradually, we refined the wet-sifting technique. We also constructed a large greenhouse with dozens of sifting stands with hoses. The material is first dry-sifted into buckets. Then the debris is brought into the greenhouse, soaked in water and wet-sifted by volunteers using spray taps. The volunteers scrutinize the washed material and collect the artifacts, which are then sorted



“FOR THE FREEDOM OF ZION.” The first coin discovered by our wet-sifting technique dates to the First Jewish Revolt against Rome (66–70 C.E.), which ended with the destruction of the Temple. As a sign of rebellion, Jews minted their own coins dated to the first, second, third, fourth and, more rarely, even fifth year of the revolt. Striking so-called freedom coins was a sign of rebellion, as the minting of coins was an imperial prerogative.



TOMMY CHAMBERLAIN

DISCOVERY IN ACTION. Enthusiastic volunteers can be seen in the greenhouse helping with the wet-sifting and discovery processes. The Sifting Project owes its success to about 200,000 volunteers of all ages, who continue to come from Israel and all around the world.

at www.echad.info/uifinds.

Our work is sometimes denigrated because, unlike an archaeological excavation, we cannot identify the exact origin and context of the finds. This is true, and our analysis would be even more valuable if we had this information. But, unfortunately, we do not. We choose to take advantage of the information we can extract, rather than to ignore it.

More than 1,260 archaeological excavations have been conducted in Jerusalem in the past 150 years.* Jerusalem is probably the most excavated city of its size in the world. But no single systematic excavation has ever been conducted on the Temple Mount, the holiest and most important archaeological site in

the country. Our recoveries represent the first-ever archaeological data originating from within the soil of the Temple Mount.

Moreover, a comparative methodology to ours is widely used in professional archaeological surveys: In this technique, artifacts are collected only from the surface without excavating. The finds are studied and considered a reliable sampling of what would be found by excavating.

As we have shown, when studied thoroughly, artifacts found in soil from the Temple Mount can dramatically enhance our understanding of this never-before-excavated site.

Sift and Learn: How to Volunteer

Participation in the Temple Mount Sifting Project involves a two-hour program, including a 30-minute introductory lecture featuring tips on sifting, at least 80 minutes of sifting and a 10-minute summary, during which a guide explains the significance of recovered finds. For more information about how to participate in the Sifting Project, go online to tmsifting.org.

*See Strata: "How Many?" BAR, July/August 2014.



ZEVI RADOVAN/COURTESY TEMPLE MOUNT SIFTING PROJECT

We have retrieved hundreds of thousands of artifacts and identified, sorted, dated, cataloged and documented them for publication in a comprehensive archaeological report. The most common are pottery fragments, pieces of glass vessels, coins, metal objects, bones, worked stones and mosaic tesserae. Occasionally, we recover inscribed pottery sherds, seals or seal impressions (bullae), fragments of stone vessels, jewelry and beads, fragments of terracotta figurines, arrowheads and other weaponry, weights, clothing accessories, gaming pieces and dice, furniture decorations, ornaments, flooring tiles, roof tiles and fragments of architectural members, such as glazed wall tiles, capitals of columns, architraves and frescoes.

Most of the finds date from the First Temple period onward, that is, the 10th century B.C.E. until the present. The finds that predate the First Temple period are scarce, mostly pottery sherds from the Middle Bronze Age II (1950–1550 B.C.E.), the Late

SPARKLING DISCOVERIES from the Temple Mount Sifting Project include various pieces of jewelry made of semi-precious stones, glass, bronze, silver and gold. They date to different periods.

Bronze Age (1550–1150 B.C.E.) and Iron Age I (1150–1000 B.C.E.). They include flint implements, Egyptian scarabs and pendants and even a fragment of what might be a finger from an Egyptian statue.

While the finds from earlier than 1000 B.C.E. are scarce, an occasional find from that time can have unusual importance. One such find made the international press. A 12-year-old girl discovered an Egyptian amulet bearing the name of Pharaoh Thutmose III, who ruled Egypt from 1479 to 1425 B.C.E.*

About 15 percent of the diagnostic pottery pieces can be dated to the First Temple period (the 10th century B.C.E. to the Babylonian destruction of the Temple in 586 B.C.E.). Some of these finds are datable to the 10th–9th centuries B.C.E., the time of kings David and Solomon and their followers. In addition to pottery, the finds include two rare bronze arrowheads and seals. The earlier arrowhead, dating to the 10th century B.C.E. (page 52), may be evidence for the site's occupation in the First Temple period, contrary to the contention of some scholars who claim that Solomon did not build the Temple

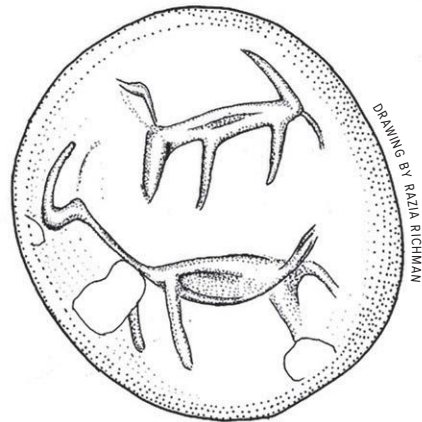
*See Strata: "Child's Eagle Eyes Spy Egyptian Amulet," *BAR*, September/October 2016.

BONE TO PICK! Some of the more striking finds include decorative carved bone fragments from various periods. At left is a fragment from a double-sided composite comb, which would have featured a dense row of narrow teeth on one side and a spaced row of thicker teeth on the other. Such combs have been common since the Byzantine period. At center is a fragment of an incised decorative frame that probably dates to the Late Roman period. The head of a hand-carved hairpin is at right. It probably dates to the Late Roman period.



ZEVI RADOVAN/COURTESY TEMPLE MOUNT SIFTING PROJECT

SEAL FROM THE DAYS OF DAVID AND SOLOMON. This rare stone seal from the 10th century B.C.E. is the first of its kind found in Jerusalem. Probably used to seal documents, its circular sealing surface is about the size of a fingertip and features one animal on top of another, perhaps predator and prey. A 10-year-old boy named Matvei Tcepliaev from Russia (below right) unearthed this unprecedented find.



and that the Temple Mount was annexed to the city centuries later. Another intriguing find is a bronze Babylonian arrowhead (page 52) from the time of the Babylonian destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C.E. Of the three (unfortunately uninscribed) Iron Age seals that were found, one is of special interest. Parallel seals with similar stylistic designs have been found at other sites in Israel from the 11th–9th centuries B.C.E.—the time of the Jebusites, from whom David conquered Jerusalem—as well as the construction of the Temple by his son, King Solomon. These finds enable us to attribute one of our First Temple period seals to the same early period (11th–9th centuries B.C.E.).

This seal (see above and right) is conical in shape and made of brown limestone. Two animals, one above the other, are carved on its circular base. Perhaps these represent a predator and its prey. The seal is perforated, thus enabling it to be hung on a string.³ The early date of this seal makes it special.

We have found 30 Iron Age bullae and fragments of bullae so far, but the impressions are clearly preserved on only five of them. Among them was a bulla from a type used as a token with a cone-shaped back—and some fingerprint marks.⁴ These fingerprints somehow give us a special connection to the person who pressed his finger into the clay to create a token nearly 2,800 years ago.

One special bulla dated to the seventh century B.C.E. (page 52) bears the Hebrew inscription “[...][belonging to] (...) lyahu (son of) Immer.” Immer is the name of a well-known priestly family from the end of the First Temple period (c. seventh–sixth centuries B.C.E.) and the Post-Exilic period (1 Chronicles 24:14). Pashhur son of Immer is also mentioned as the “chief officer in the house of God” (Jeremiah 20:1).



HILLEL RICHMAN

The impression on the back of this bulla indicates that it was attached to a coarse fabric parcel or a sack. Presumably, it sealed precious goods kept in the Temple treasury that the priests managed. This seal impression from the Temple Mount directly attests to the administrative activity that occurred during its last days in the First Temple.

At first, we were surprised to find more than 140 fragments of terracotta figurines, mostly quadrupeds, but also Judahite pillar female figurines dating to the First Temple period.** Such figurines are common in all Iron Age excavations in Jerusalem and the Kingdom of Judah. They are usually found fragmented, suggesting that they were deliberately broken in antiquity as part of a ritual act.

Several scholars have tied this phenomenon to the iconoclastic reforms of King Josiah at the end of the



biblicalarchaeology.org/temple Explore Temple Mount resources in the BAS Store.

**See Robert Deutsch, “JPFs: More Questions than Answers,” *BAR*, September/October 2014; Shmuel Ahituv, “Did God Have a Wife?” *BAR*, September/October 2006; Ephraim Stern, “Pagan Yahwism: The Folk Religion of Ancient Israel,” *BAR*, May/June 2001.



“SON OF IMMER” reads this bulla (seal impression) from the seventh century B.C.E. (First Temple period). The house of Immer is a well-known priestly family in the Bible (Jeremiah 20:1; Ezra 2:37, 59; 10:20; Nehemiah 3:29; 7:40, 61; 11:13; 1 Chronicles 9:12; 24:14). The bulla was originally attached to a parcel and serves as evidence to the administrative activity that occurred in the First Temple.

seventh century B.C.E., which included the smashing of idols and dumping them in the Kidron Valley (2 King 23:4–13; 2 Chronicles 34:3–8).⁵ Many similar figurine fragments have been found in dirt we sifted from a refuse pit dating to the Iron Age on the eastern slope of the Temple Mount (on the western bank of the Kidron Valley), which may lend further support to the contention that these figurines were indeed destroyed in a religious or cultic reform.⁶ Others posit that the figurines were actually broken as the final stage of their ritual role,⁷ while others

have argued that there is no evidence for intentional breakage or face mutilation.⁸ Moreover, the figurines cannot be correlated with any particular reforms, as almost all have been found in refuse contexts.

That the First Temple period finds include seals, bullae and weights is hardly surprising. In addition to the Temple, the Temple Mount included other governmental buildings and royal palaces. A great deal of administrative activity occurred here.

The fact that almost all of the weights, sling stones and all of the figurines were broken may indicate these finds come from a refuse dump. Additionally, the First Temple period finds did not include precious artifacts, such as imported pottery and metal objects. We speculate that these discarded artifacts originated on the Temple Mount and were later dumped on its eastern slopes. Then, during the Second Temple period, these slopes were the source for the earth imported for filling and extending the Temple precincts.⁹

Further evidence for such a refuse context was revealed in August 2007 during another Waqf dig for an electrical wire trench under the supervision of IAA staff. They found a small cluster of potsherds and animal bones from the end of the First Temple period, also suggesting a refuse context.

Turning to the Second Temple period (538 B.C.E.–70 C.E.), the finds from the Sifting Project come from all phases of the Second Temple’s history—from the Persian period until the Roman period. The soil contains large amounts of ash, and many of the finds have signs of burning, probably from the vast conflagration that ended the First Jewish Revolt against Rome. Many burnt bones of sheep, goat and cattle were found that may have been the remains



BRONZE ARROWHEADS. The bronze arrowhead (c. 2.6 in) (above) dates to the 10th century B.C.E., the time of kings David and Solomon. Arrowheads like this one are rarely found in Israel from this period. It may evidence an armed force on the Temple Mount at this time. The bronze Irano-Schythic triple-bladed arrowhead (c. 1.4 in) (right) dates to c. 586 B.C.E., when the Babylonian army of King Nebuchadnezzar conquered Jerusalem and destroyed Solomon’s Temple.





TEMPLE MOUNT SIFTING PROJECT

GET A HANDLE ON IT. This fragment of a stamped handle of a wine-bearing amphora from Rhodes (c. 175–170 B.C.E.) may be related to the Hellenistic Seleucid garrison.

of sacrifices offered on the Temple's altar.

Another intriguing category of finds consists of stone fragments that must have originated from elaborate buildings. We can identify architraves, bases, capitals and column drums. Some of these may even have originated from the Temple structure itself.

From the Hellenistic period, we have recovered a limestone column capital of the Doric order. The capital was fully preserved, and we assume that it stood upon a column more than 13 feet high, based on its diameter.

A seal impression on a jar handle was found that includes a design of a five-pointed star in which, between its horns, are the ancient Hebrew letters “YRSLM”—Jerusalem. More than a hundred seal impressions of this type are known, dating to the second century B.C.E., the days of the Hasmonean dynasty.

To date, the Sifting Project has recovered more than 6,000 coins, ranging from the first Judaic coins minted during the Persian period (tiny silver Yehud coins dating from the fourth century B.C.E.) to others minted in modern times. These coins attest to

the rich past of the Temple Mount. Many of the coins from the late Second Temple period seem to be burnt, probably as a result of the fire that led to the destruction of the Temple.

A particularly exciting find is a rare silver coin minted during the first year of the Great Jewish Revolt against Rome (66/67 C.E.) (page 54). The coin features a branch with three pomegranates and an inscription in ancient Hebrew script reading “holy Jerusalem” (ירושלם קדשה). The reverse side of the coin features an *omer* (ancient half-cup measuring unit) inscribed “half shekel” (חצי השקל). These half-shekel coins were used to pay the Temple tax during the Great Revolt, replacing the Tyrian shekel used previously. It appears that these half-shekel coins were minted by the Temple authorities on the Temple Mount itself. This half-shekel tax for the sanctuary, mentioned in the Book of Exodus (30:13–15), required every male to pay half a shekel to the Tabernacle once a year. Our half-shekel coin is well preserved but bears scars of the conflagration that destroyed the Second Temple in 70 C.E.

A significant discovery from the time of the Herodian expansion of the Temple Mount are hundreds of *opus sectile* stone tiles.* *Opus sectile* (Latin: “cut

*See Frankie Snyder, Gabriel Barkay and Zachi Dvira, “What the Temple Mount Floor Looked Like,” page 56.



LEFT AND CENTER: TEMPLE MOUNT SIFTING PROJECT; RIGHT: ZEVI RADWAN/COURTESY TEMPLE MOUNT SIFTING PROJECT

SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD COINS. The earliest coins from the Temple Mount Sifting Project come from the fourth century B.C.E., such as the tiny silver coin (left) that depicts a barn owl and is inscribed with *Yehud*, the Hebrew word that refers to the province of Judah. The latest (middle) comes from 70 C.E., when the Romans destroyed the Temple. It is a quarter shekel and minted in the fourth year of the revolt.

Half-shekel silver coins like the one at right were used by males to pay their annual half-shekel head-tax to the Temple in observance of the Biblical command in Exodus 30:13–15. This side of the coin features a staff with three pomegranate buds surrounded by the designation “holy Jerusalem.” The coin is well preserved, although it bears scars from a fire—the conflagration that destroyed the Temple in 70 C.E.

work”) is a technique of paving floors in lavish geometric patterns using meticulously cut and polished polychrome tiles. Many of the tiles have been dated to the Late Second Temple period based on parallels found in Herodian palaces. Their dimensions are based on fractions of the Roman foot (c. 11.65 in). Flavius Josephus, writing about the open courts surrounding the Temple, says, “Those entire courts that were exposed to the sky were laid with stones of all sorts.”¹⁰ This description is now better understood thanks to these finds, and we are currently working on a reconstruction of the floor patterns.

Other finds reflect

THIS SILVER CRUSADER coin of Baldwin III (king of Jerusalem from 1143 to 1163) depicts the Tower of David.



life on the Temple Mount in later periods. Relative to the other periods, not many artifacts from the Late Roman period were found in the sifting, although some interesting objects were revealed: many items made of bone and bone workshop’s waste, gem stones with designs, gaming pieces, fragments of clay figurines and several roof tile fragments with impressions of the Tenth Roman Legion (which destroyed the Temple and was stationed in Jerusalem after the destruction).

From the Byzantine period (Early Christian period: 324–638 C.E.), we have recovered large amounts of pottery and many coins, as well as architectural fragments. In addition, from this period are several cruciform pendants, clay oil lamps emblazoned with crosses and bronze weights.

Finds from the Byzantine period include about half a million mosaic tesserae, thousands of roof tile fragments, pieces of Corinthian capitals and chancel screens from church structures and floor tiles. The plethora of Byzantine-period artifacts stands in contrast to the commonly held view that in the

Byzantine era the Temple Mount was desolate or, according to some sources, a garbage dump.¹¹

Solomon’s Stables, where the new mosque is located, got its name in the Crusader period (1099–1187 C.E.) when the Knights Templar used the area as stables. They had their headquarters in the Al-Aqsa Mosque, which they named “Solomon’s Temple.” We have found many items associated with Knights Templar

INSERT: TEMPLE MOUNT SIFTING PROJECT



TEMPLE MOUNT SIFTING PROJECT

TEMPLE MOUNT SIFTING PROJECT

SIGNED, SEALED AND DELIVERED. Finds include personal bronze seals from the Ottoman period (1517–1917 C.E.). Notably, the seal pictured is of ‘Abd al-Fattah al-Tamimi (18th century).

activity. Among them are hundreds of armor scales, horseshoe nails and a large collection of medieval arrowheads. In addition, we have recovered more than a hundred silver Crusader coins—the biggest and most varied collection of coins from this period found in Jerusalem. Many of these finds probably originate from the earth cleared directly from the interior of Solomon’s Stables at the start of the work there in 1996.

Twelve inscribed Turkish Ottoman-period (1517–1917) bronze seals and signet rings have also been discovered, mostly dated to the 19th and early 20th centuries. One unique example bears the name ‘Abd al-Fattah al-Tamimi, who served as deputy to the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and qadi (judge) of Nablus, Gaza and Ramla at periods before his death in 1725 C.E.¹² The current director of the Jerusalem Islamic Waqf, Sheikh Mohammed Azzam al-Khatib al-Tamimi, is from the same Tamimi family.

We have found evidence from later periods of Western Christian pilgrims and visitors along with

military insignia and buttons from World War I and a large variety of artifacts dating until the present day.

To date, about 70 percent of the debris has been sifted. More than half a million artifacts have been saved and stored. From the beginning, the work has been done by volunteers, and close to 200,000 of them have participated in the sifting.

Participants in the Sifting Project come from all facets of society, including children (must be at least 3 ft tall to reach the screens), elderly people and people with disabilities, even blindness. 🧑

¹ The Temple Mount Sifting Project is carried out under the academic auspices of the Martin (Szusz) Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology at Bar-Ilan University. The initial funds were provided by the Heritage Foundation of Abraham and Frieda Wiener. Since 2005 the project has been funded by private donors through the Ir-David Foundation. The research on the finds is funded by private donors through the Israel Archaeology Foundation and the Israel Exploration Society. We are indebted to them all.

² See other examples in Ya’akov Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage* (New York: Amphora Books, 1982), pp. 109–113.

³ The use of such seals hung on a string is nicely described in Genesis 38:18.

⁴ They were not used to seal an object but rather as a kind of voucher or token. See Nahman Avigad, “Two Hebrew ‘Fiscal’ Bullae,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 40 (1990), pp. 262–266; Robert Deutsch, “Six Hebrew Fiscal Bullae from the Time of Hezekiah,” in Meir Lubetski and Edith Lubetski, eds., *New*

CONTINUES ON PAGE 64

What the Temple Mount Floor Looked Like

Frankie Snyder, Gabriel Barkay and Zachi Dvira

THE TEMPLE MOUNT SIFTING Project* has recovered more than a hundred geometrically cut and polished stone tiles known as *opus sectile*, from which we learn how Jerusalem's majestic Herodian Temple Mount was paved.

Opus sectile—Latin for “cut work”—is a technique for paving floors and walls in geometric patterns or figurative scenes using meticulously cut and polished polychrome stone tiles.¹ These

tiles were crafted and laid with such precision that there was hardly space to insert a knife-blade between them. *Opus sectile* floors were more prestigious than mosaic ones and were typically used in more important areas of

buildings. Along with using frescoed walls, stucco decorations and elegantly carved columns, King Herod the Great (r. 37–4 B.C.E.) introduced this paving technique to Israel to decorate many of his palaces, including Masada, Jericho, Herodium and Cypros.

The first-century C.E. Jewish historian Flavius Josephus comments about the pavements in Herod's Palace in Jerusalem this way: “The interior fittings are indescribable—the variety of the stones (for species rare in every other country were here collected



*See Gabriel Barkay and Zachi Dvira, “Relics in Rubble: The Temple Mount Sifting Project,” page 44.



OPUS SECTILE EXPERT Frankie Snyder is seen here with *opus sectile* tiles discovered by the Temple Mount Sifting Project.

in abundance).² Similarly, about the Temple Mount he writes, “The open court [of the Temple Mount] was from end to end variegated with paving of all manner of stones.”³ In his early research at the Sifting Project, Assaf Avraham was able to identify specific paving tiles found in the Temple Mount material as being consistent with the *opus sectile* technique, and he suggested that some of these may be the paving stones to which Josephus was referring.⁴ Continued research has allowed us to distinguish the time period in which many

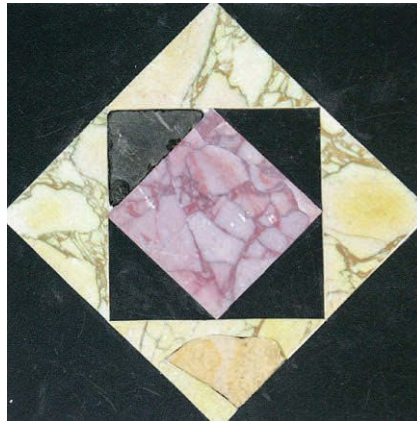
of the recovered *opus sectile* tiles were crafted and to mathematically reconstruct possible floor patterns.

Roman tiles can be distinguished from others found at the Sifting Project—Byzantine, Crusader and Islamic—by careful analysis of the size, shape, material, color and craftsmanship of each tile. A key characteristic

of Herodian tiles is the size, which is based on the Roman foot, 11.6 inches. In the floor patterns, each tile was surrounded by tiles of contrasting colors. Dark tiles were frequently made from bituminous chalk (bitumen) quarried locally just northwest of the Dead Sea, around Nebi Musa. Some of the contrasting light-colored tiles were made from local limestone and calcite-alabaster, while others were made of imported alabaster, *africano*, *breccia corallina*,

DAZZLING DESIGNS. More than a hundred colorful stone tiles that once decorated the floors of King Herod’s Temple Mount have been recovered by the Temple Mount Sifting Project. The technique by which these geometrically-cut tiles were paved is called *opus sectile*, Latin for “cut work.” Reconstructing the patterns in which these tiles were laid can reveal what the Temple Mount floors looked like in the time of Herod.





TEMPLE MOUNT SIFTING PROJECT

GEOMETRIC BEAUTY. Roman tiles found by the Temple Mount Sifting Project have patterns that are consistent with popular *opus sectile* patterns found throughout the Roman world in the first century B.C.E.–first century C.E. These patterns include two blocks comprising four squares arranged in a diamond design in each block (see above left and center) and an eight-pointed-star pattern in which eight triangles radiate from a central octagon (see above right).

breccia di Aleppo, *breccia di Settebasi*, *giallo antico*, *pavonazzetto* and *portas-anta* from Greece, Asia Minor, Tunisia and Egypt.

Some *opus sectile* patterns popular in the Roman world during the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E. are shown on this page. These give us some idea of what the flooring on the Temple Mount looked like.

Two blocks comprising four squares arranged in a diamond design in each block have been reconstructed with tiles and tile fragments from the Temple Mount (above left and center).

Eight-pointed-stars popular in Roman patterns appear to have been depicted on the Temple Mount. This pattern features an octagonal central tile

surrounded by small black triangles and contrasting-colored squares and triangles (above right).

Several Herodian floors use the specifically shaped “Herod’s triangle”—a triangle whose base is equal to its height, like a triangle constructed inside a square. This triangle with the unusual corner angles of 52°-64°-64° was very common in Herodian patterns but was rarely seen in floors elsewhere in the Roman world. When used in a pattern, the Herod’s triangles cause adjacent tiles to also have unusual, but mathematically recognizable, corner angles.

On the Temple Mount, this Herod’s triangle appears to have been used in a way similar to what we find at some of Herod’s palaces. The Temple Mount’s

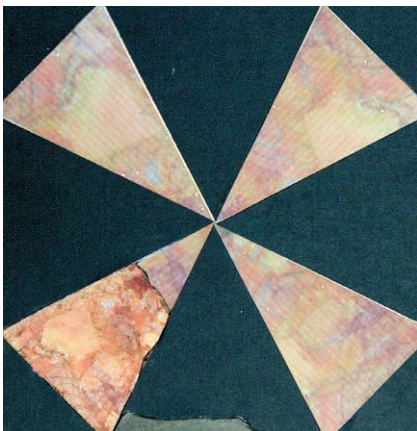
triangular tiles each have a base and height of 1 Roman foot (below right, top).

Several smaller Herod’s triangles made of black bitumen were found in the Temple Mount material and may have been used in the popular Roman pinwheel pattern (below far left).

Herod’s triangles can be used to generate fascinating designs. For example, if four Herod’s triangles are drawn inside a 1-Roman-foot square, this creates a versatile template from which to generate several tile patterns. By adding a small square in the center, variations of a popularly used four-pointed-star pattern can be produced, as shown (below right, bottom).

This is just a sample of the *opus sectile* patterns used on the Temple Mount.

“HEROD’S TRIANGLE,” a triangle whose base is equal to its height, was featured on several Herodian floors. This pattern appears to have been used on the floors of his Temple Mount, where the triangular tiles have a base and a height of 1 Roman foot (11.65 in) (left, top). Herod’s triangles made of black bitumen have also been used to create the pinwheel pattern popular throughout the Roman period (far left image). The popular four-pointed-star pattern can be produced a variety of ways, with Herod’s triangles radiating from a central square tile (left, bottom).



TEMPLE MOUNT SIFTING PROJECT



HEROD'S TEMPLE MOUNT. On the southern end of the Temple Mount was Herod's Royal Stoa (left, top and bottom), a roofed, open-air, basilical building where public and commercial activity took place. It was described by Josephus as "more noteworthy than any under the sun." The Royal Stoa was the perfect place to showcase ornate *opus sectile* floors.

architecture was "more noteworthy than any under the sun."⁵

The covered porticoes that surrounded the eastern, northern and western sides of the esplanade may also have had *opus sectile* floors. Above all, *opus sectile* pavements may have been used inside the Temple itself.

Once the Temple and its courtyards were destroyed by the Romans, the *opus sectile* tiles would have been easily looted for use in other buildings. Any tiles made of imported marble or marble-like materials would have been highly prized.⁶

Although the Temple and its courtyards were destroyed almost 2,000 years ago, the fact that we have some of the very tiles that were originally used to pave the floors of the Herodian Temple Mount offers us a unique perspective into the ornate architecture of this extraordinary edifice. 

¹ Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), pp. 254–264.

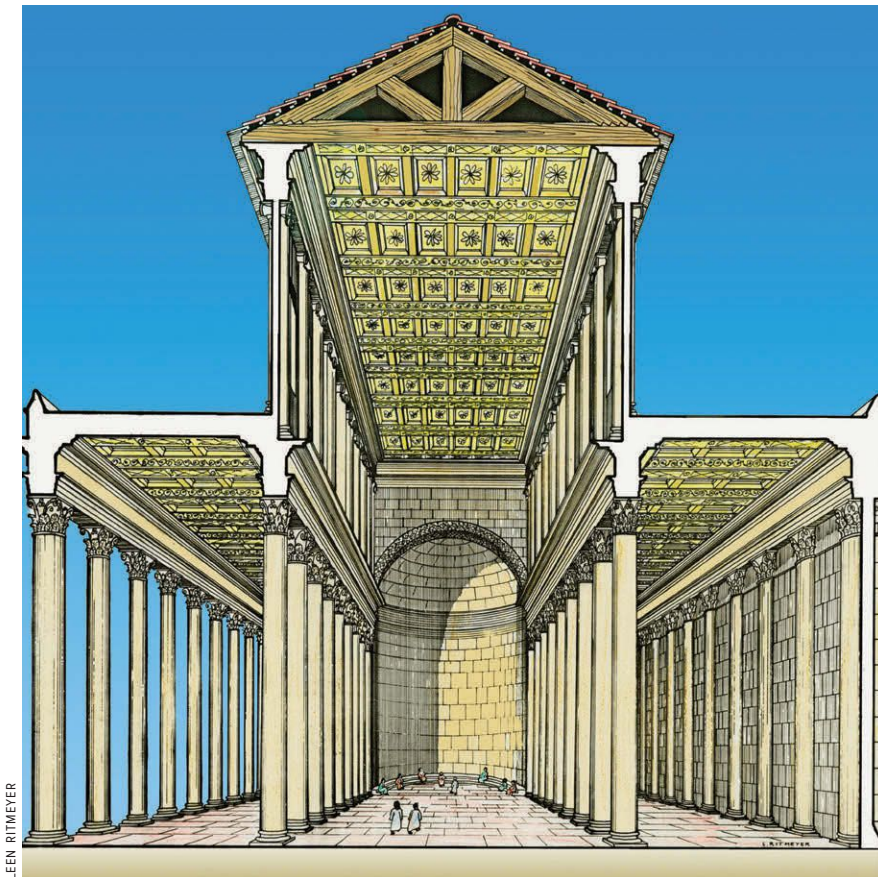
² Josephus, *The Jewish War*, V.178, trans. by H. St. John Thackeray, Loeb Classical Library 210 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1928).

³ Josephus, *War*, V.192–193.

⁴ Assaf Avraham, "Addressing the Issue of Temple Mount Pavements During the Herodian Period," in Avraham Faust and Eyal Baruch, eds., *New Studies on Jerusalem 13* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 2007), pp. 87–96 (Hebrew), English abstract, pp. 22*–23*.

⁵ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XV.412, trans. by Ralph Marcus and Allen Wikgren, Loeb Classical Library 489 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1943).

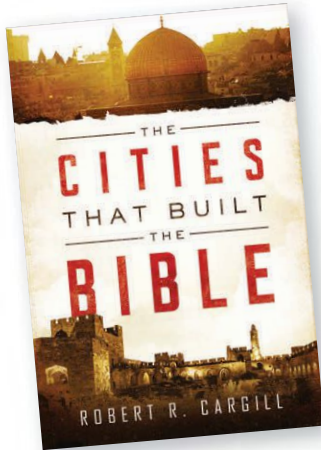
⁶ James A. Harrell, Lorenzo Lazzarini and Mathias Bruno, "Reuse of Roman Ornamental Stones in Medieval Cairo, Egypt," in Lorenzo Lazzarini, ed., *ASMOSIA 6: Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity, Venice, June 15–18, 2000* (Padova: Bottega d'Erasmo, 2002), pp. 89–96.



Several other complete bitumen *opus sectile* tiles with dimensions based on the Roman foot have been found in the Sifting Project. Further research may help us understand how these tiles were used in Temple Mount floor patterns.

Opus sectile floors were typically used as pavements in enclosed areas or where a roof would protect them from damage by inclement weather. Huge open or uncovered areas may have been paved with simple large tiles

that would have not been affected by the weather, and the Sifting Project has recovered many tiles and fragments that could have been part of these large paving tiles. The roofed, open-air southern basilica-type Royal Stoa that served as a gathering area for visitors to the Temple Mount and for other civic functions would have been a perfect location for *opus sectile* floors. Josephus tells us that the Royal Stoa was about 100 feet wide and 650 feet long—and that its ornate



The Significance of Ancient Cities to the Bible's Formation

The Cities That Built the Bible

By Robert R. Cargill
(New York: HarperOne, 2016),
352 pp., \$29 (hardcover)

Review by Cynthia Shafer-Elliott

THE “HOLY LAND” IS A common entry on travel bucket lists. People are fascinated with seeing and experiencing the settings of what may be the most influential book of all time—the Bible. Many are eager to visit historical and archaeological sites that are connected with their faith traditions. Unfortunately, such a trip is often beyond people’s reach due to money and time constraints. Even the sheer number of possible places to visit in Israel, Jordan and Palestine can be overwhelming. Without an experienced guide, many wonderful sites are overlooked or, if they are visited, their history and importance remains bewildering.

To remedy this situation, many people join a tour group or venture out alone with a guidebook in hand. Robert Cargill’s new book, *The Cities That Built the Bible*, would be an excellent travel companion. An archaeologist and Biblical scholar, Cargill is Assistant Professor of Classics and Religious Studies at the University of Iowa. He has also hosted numerous television documentaries, such as the History Channel’s series *Bible Secrets Revealed*. What better guide to have in the lands of the Bible?

In *The Cities That Built the Bible*, Cargill serves the reader

as both an expert guide and teacher. He focuses on 14 influential cities related to the Bible: Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Ugarit, Nineveh, Babylon, Megiddo, Athens, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Qumran, Bethlehem, Nazareth and Rome. But this is no ordinary guidebook. Cargill focuses on these 14 cities because of the important role they played (directly or indirectly) in the composition, redaction and canonization of the Bible. Instead of examining the people and events that helped form the Bible as we know it today, Cargill guides the reader through the important cities that helped build the Bible. Each city’s background, history and archaeology are summarized, followed by its significance to the development of the Bible. Some of these cities may be familiar to the reader; others may not. Not to fear, as Cargill introduces the reader to each ancient city and its importance to the Bible’s development as only an experienced teacher and guide could.

Importantly, Cargill also provides examples to illustrate the complicated development of the Bible and explores the inclusion and interpretation of some of its more challenging verses. He approaches these topics with sensitivity, but he also does not shy away from covering the views of current scholarship concerning these verses—which are often at odds with more traditional readings. For instance, in the chapter on Qumran (the site associated

with the Dead Sea Scrolls), Cargill introduces the topic of redaction criticism, which he defines as “[t]he science of identifying changes to copied and translated texts and then attempting to identify a reason for these changes.” In one example, Cargill examines the discrepancy of the height of the infamous Philistine champion, Goliath, as found in 1 Samuel 17:4. The Hebrew Masoretic Text states that Goliath was 9 feet, 9 inches tall, while the Greek Septuagint states that he was 6 feet, 9 inches. The copy of 1 Samuel found in Qumran Cave 4 helps solve this discrepancy (no spoiler alert needed; you will have to read the book). The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls—the oldest known copies of parts of the Hebrew Bible—is imperative to helping scholars study which Biblical manuscript tradition is the earliest—and, dare I say, most accurate. These types of analysis are then used in contemporary Bible translations.

To help the reader along the journey, Cargill includes a map with the location of the cities, a list of abbreviations that will be used throughout the book and lists of books within the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, the Apocrypha and the Christian New Testament. The book’s website (citiesthatbuiltthebible.com) even offers a virtual tour of the cities and sites covered.

In his introduction, Cargill explains how to read his book, including helpful notes on his choices of formatting,

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abbreviations and the book's structure. Additional notes, citations and a detailed bibliography can be found at the end of the book. As the book introduces a complicated discussion on the formation of the Bible, a glossary of terms would have been a helpful addition to the hardback version. (The eBook version of *Cities That Built the Bible* does contain links to websites and definitions.)

This book is well worth reading, whether or not one is planning a trip to cities of the Bible. As a geographical, historical and archaeological approach to the formation of the Bible, Cargill delves into difficult topics with humor and ease and without seeming to pander to any particular audience. Biblical scholars and archaeologists often note how little their research is being publicized. Perhaps

that is at least partly due to the fact that they don't generally venture outside of the academic realm to share the research with a wider audience. Kudos to Cargill for attempting to bridge that gap, especially with such a complicated topic!

Cynthia Shafer-Elliott is Associate Professor of Hebrew Bible and Archaeology at William Jessup University in Rocklin, California. Specializing in the socio-historical context of ancient Israel and Judah, she is also an experienced field archaeologist and is on staff at the Tell Halif archaeological excavation in Israel.

STRATA ANSWERS

What Is It? (from p. 14)

Answer: (B) Mace head

This copper mace head was found among the Nahal Mishmar hoard, a cache of Chalcolithic artifacts found inside a cave—thereafter called the Cave of the Treasure—in Nahal Mishmar, a wadi in the Judean Desert west of the Dead Sea. Wrapped in a reed mat, the hoard was hidden inside a crevice in the cave. An astounding 442 objects were uncovered, the majority of which were mace heads or maces. Although most of the mace heads were plain and rounded, there were also several decorated ones, such as this one with four protruding cylindrical bosses pictured on page 14.

In the ancient Near East, the mace was a significant weapon that became a ritual object, too. During the Chalcolithic period (c. 4500–3600 B.C.E.), the mace was the most important weapon for hand-to-hand combat.¹ Offerings of maces and mace heads—both functional, conventional ones and ornate, purely votive ones—have been uncovered from temple contexts throughout the ancient Near East.

Although the exact purpose of the Nahal Mishmar hoard is unknown, it seems likely that this cache belonged to a Chalcolithic temple at one point—possibly to the Chalcolithic temple at En Gedi, as suggested by archaeologist David Ussishkin.

¹ Michael Sebbane, "The Hoard from Nahal Mishmar and the Metal-Working Industry in Israel in the Chalcolithic Period," in Michael Sebbane, Osnat Misch-Brandl and Daniel M. Master, eds, *Masters of Fire: Copper Age Art from Israel* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press and Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, 2014), pp. 114–137.

How Many? (from p. 18)

Answer: None

Of the many laws in the Hebrew Bible, there are none about prayer. No law stipulates when, what or how one should pray. Daniel Falk, Professor of Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies and the Chaiken Family Chair in Jewish Studies at Pennsylvania State University, clarifies that although laws about prayer do not appear in the Hebrew Bible's more than 600 laws about religious practice, it should not be thought that people did not pray in ancient Israel.¹ People certainly prayed, even though this practice was not mandated by their religious laws. The Hebrew Bible includes many stories of people praying, such as in 2 Kings 19, when King Hezekiah prays to be delivered from the Assyrian king Sennacherib.

Prayer laws do appear in the Mishnah, which was compiled in the early third century C.E. The Mishnah's very first line talks about when one should pray: "From what time in the evening must one recite the Shema?"

Formal instruction about prayer also appears in the New Testament. For example, in Matthew 6:5–15, Jesus instructs his disciples how to pray.

¹ See the interview with Daniel Falk in Cherie Winner's article, "The Genesis of Prayer: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Modern Worship," *Research Penn State*, Spring 2016.

First Person

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a forgery on substantive grounds seems irrelevant.

This is not a disagreement about whether the Gospel of Jesus' Wife is a forgery. Almost everyone now agrees that it is. My criticism is that the new analysis comes to the same conclusion that scholars had previously come to—yet that is not mentioned in Sabar's lengthy analysis.

Moreover, Sabar's analysis of Walter Fritz's character is, strictly speaking, unrelated to the forgery issue. Nothing Walter Fritz related to Sabar and nothing Walter Fritz did or said indicated he ever forged anything or had the capacity to do so. There was a lot that was suspicious about Walter Fritz, but he could provide Sabar with no evidence as to how he, Walter Fritz, forged them.

In the end, it's difficult not to get the feeling that what convinced Sabar that Fritz was the forger was some strange facts: Beginning in 2003, Fritz launched a series of pornographic websites. To make matters worse, they showcased Fritz's wife. And often, we are told, with more than one man at a time. One web page billed Mrs. Fritz as "America's #1 Slut Wife."

Fritz may have acquired forged inscriptions, or—at least theoretically—he may have acquired authentic ancient inscriptions. But nothing that Fritz showed or told Sabar indicates one way or the other.

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Sabar's piece plumbs Fritz's character, rather than the authenticity of the Gospel of Jesus' Wife. Would I buy an ancient inscription from him? Certainly not. But neither can I say that everything he has for sale is a forgery. For that, I would need scholarship, both scientific and linguistic scholarship of the highest order. But, as Karen King emphasizes, even if this material turns out to be authentic, it is no indication that Jesus was married, only that hundreds of years after his crucifixion, some people thought he had been married.—H.S.

¹ Ariel Sabar, "The Unbelievable Tale of Jesus's Wife," *The Atlantic*, July/August 2016 (www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/07/the-unbelievable-tale-of-jesus-wife/485573).

Sifting Project

continued from page 55

Inscriptions and Seals Relating to the Biblical World (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), pp. 59–67; Gabriel Barkay, "Evidence of the Taxation System of the Judean Kingdom—A Fiscal Bulla from the Slopes of the Temple Mount and the Phenomenon of Fiscal Bullae," in Meir Lubetski and Edith Lubetski, eds., *Recording New Epigraphic Evidence: Essays in Honor of Robert Deutsch* (Jerusalem: Leshon Limudim Ltd., 2015), pp. 17–50.

⁵ See Eilat Mazar, "Archaeological Evidence for the 'Cows of the Bashan who are in the Mountains of Samaria,'" in B. Akzin et al., eds., *Festschrift Reuben R. Hecht* (Jerusalem: Koren, 1979), p. 152; Yonatan Nadelman, "Iron Age II Clay Fragments from the Excavations—Appendix A," in Eilat Mazar and Benjamin Mazar, eds., *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount*, Qedem 29 (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1989), p. 123; William

G. Dever, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries and the Biblical Research* (Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 1990), p. 159; Gabriel Barkay, "The Iron Age II–III," in Amnon Ben-Tor, ed., *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel* (trans. R. Greenberg; New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1992), pp. 302–373; and a list of other references in Raz Kletter, *The Judean Pillar-Figurines and the Archaeology of Asherah*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 636 (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1996), p. 54.

⁶ Zachi Dvira (Zweig), Gal Zigdon and Lara Shilov, "Secondary Refuse Aggregates from the First and Second Temple Periods on the Eastern Slope of the Temple Mount," in Eyal Baruch, Ayelet Levy-Reifer and Avraham Faust, eds., *New Studies on Jerusalem XVII* (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Ingeborg Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies, 2011), p. 83 [Hebrew].

⁷ Erin Darby, *Interpreting Judean Pillar Figurines: Gender and Empire in Judean Apotropaic Ritual*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2/69 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), p. 408.

⁸ Kletter, *Judean Pillar-Figurines*, pp. 54–56, 105.

⁹ Flavius Josephus, *War of the Jews* 5.5.1.

¹⁰ Josephus, *War of the Jews* 5.5.2.

¹¹ Yoram Tsafrir, "The Temple-Less Mountain," in B.Z. Kedar and O. Grabar, eds., *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade* (Jerusalem and Austin: Yad Ben-Zvi Press/University of Texas Press, 2009), pp. 94–99; Andreas Kaplony, *The Harem of Jerusalem 324–1099* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002), pp. 2–31.

¹² Amira El-Azhary Sonbol, *Beyond the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societies* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2005), pp. 169–170.

AUTHORS



Burnett

Joel S. Burnett ("Ammon, Moab and Edom: Gods and Kingdoms East of the Jordan," p. 26) is Professor of Religion and Director of the Institute for Biblical and Related Languages at Baylor University in Waco, Texas. His research interests include the ancient Near East, the history of Israelite religion and the religion of Iron Age Transjordan.

Lidar Sapir-Hen ("Pigs as an Ethnic Marker? You Are What You Eat," p. 41) is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures and the Curator of Archaeozoological Collections at the Steinhardt Museum of Natural History at Tel Aviv University. She has excavated at several sites, including Tel Dor, Tel Megiddo and Timna.



Sapir-Hen



Barkay

Gabriel Barkay ("Relics in Rubble," p. 44, and "What the Temple Mount Floor Looked Like," p. 56), an internationally prominent archaeologist, codirects the Temple Mount Sifting Project. A professor at Bar-Ilan University and an Israel Prize laureate, he has participated in numerous digs, including his large-scale excavation of Jerusalem's Ketef Hinnom, where his team discovered silvers scrolls containing the oldest extra-Biblical reference to YHWH, the God of Israel. His academic interests include burial customs, art and epigraphy.



Dvira

Zachi Dvira ("Relics in Rubble," p. 44, and "What the Temple Mount Floor Looked Like," p. 56) is an Israeli archaeologist from Bar-Ilan University who codirects the Temple Mount Sifting Project.

Frankie Snyder ("What the Temple Mount Floor Looked Like," p. 56), an expert on *opus sectile*, is a senior staff member on the Temple Mount Sifting Project.



Snyder

Q&C

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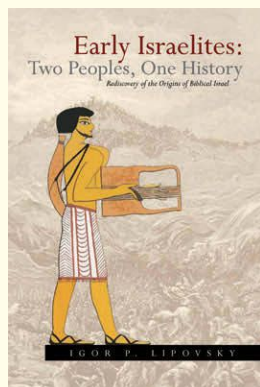
of it) because it had not yet appeared in a scholarly journal (see "Editorial: Free Hadrian," BAR, September/October 1978). The widespread protest of BAR readers was unable to reverse the decision. Of course that would not be the case today; the pictures would be readily available from the Israel Antiquities Authority.—Ed.

CORRECTION

Greenspoon Column

Leonard Greenspoon's July/August column, "The Bible in the News: Methusalem & Co.," refers to the lyrics for "It Ain't Necessarily So" by George Gershwin. The lyrics were written by his brother, Ira Gershwin.

Rediscovery of Ancient Israel's Origins



EARLY ISRAELITES

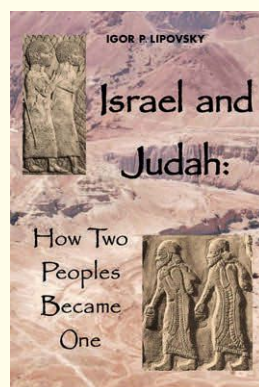
Two Peoples, One History

By IGOR P. LIPOVSKY

The greatest secret of the Bible is the fact that the ancient Hebrews in reality were two different tribal groups, who arrived in Canaan and then left for the Nile Delta at different times. Both peoples then made their exodus from Egypt in different centuries and reconquered their places in Canaan independently. The early biblical

history with which we are familiar, up until the 12th century B.C., only represents the history of the Southerners, "Jacob," to which were later added a few fragments from the past concerning the Northerners, "Israel." Where the archaeologists look for the history of one people, is in reality the hidden past of two different peoples...

Boston: 2012. 209 pp. Softcover, \$11.93, and in digital form for Kindle, \$7.99.



ISRAEL AND JUDAH

How Two Peoples Became One

By IGOR P. LIPOVSKY

The Israelites and Judahites properly came together for the first and last time only in the United Monarchy. It was then that the initial version of the "common" genealogy and history was composed. But the two peoples could not co-exist for long in the same harness, especially when the junior partner, Judah, was commanding the senior, Israel, and the union fell apart forever...

What were the ethnic, historical, and religious differences between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah that prevented their new union? Distinguished scholar of Near Eastern History Prof. Igor P. Lipovsky rediscovers the origins of the Israelites, Judahites, and local Canaanites, and analyzes their role in the emergence of the Jewish people.

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Ammon, Moab and Edom

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Go to the archaeological section of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. There is not a single piece of impressive Iron Age sculpture from Judah or Israel. Even more surprising—not a single lengthy Hebrew inscription from this period exists.

Why is this the case? Is there some cultural reason that Israel has not produced great visual Iron Age art? And why aren't there long inscriptions? Is it simply the luck of the archaeological draw? Or is there some deeper cultural or historical distinction between the kingdoms west and east of the Jordan? Could it have something to do with the fact that we also have no Ammonite, Moabite or Edomite Bible? ☒

¹ Rudolph H. Dornemann, "The Beginning of the Iron Age in Transjordan," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 1 (1982), pp. 135–140; F. Zayadine, J.-B. Humbert and M. Najjar, "The 1988 Excavations on the Citadel

of Amman—Lower Terrace, Area A," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 33 (1989), pp. 357–363 and plates 50–52; Ahmed Momani and Anthi Koutsoukou, "The 1993 Excavations," in A. Koutsoukou et al., eds., *The Great Temple of Amman: The Excavations* (Amman: American Center of Oriental Research, 1997), pp. 157–171; Sahar Mansour, "Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Jabal al-Qal'a (Lower Terrace): The Iron Age Walls," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 46 (2002), pp. 141–150.

² Joel S. Burnett, "Egyptianizing Elements in Ammonite Stone Statuary: The Atef Crown and Lotus," in Oskar Kaelin, ed., *9 ICAANE: Proceedings of the 9th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East* (June 9–13, 2014, University of Basel), vol. 1, *Traveling Images* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), pp. 57–71.

³ James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near Eastern Texts (ANET)*, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2010), p. 282.

⁴ Joel S. Burnett and Romel Gharib, "An Iron Age Basalt Statue from the Amman Theatre Area," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 58 (2014).

⁵ The name of Mesha's father in line 1 is partially restored from the Kerak Inscription fragment, another roughly contemporary monumental inscription on basalt that preserves the last part of a name *šyt* as king of Moab.

⁶ This geographically "segmented" kingdom

model represented by Moab has been identified by Bruce Routledge, *Moab in the Iron Age: Hegemony, Polity, Archaeology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). For the Egyptian texts of Ramses II mentioning Moab, see Kenneth A. Kitchen, "The Egyptian Evidence on Ancient Jordan," in P. Bienkowski, ed., *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan* (Sheffield: Collis, 1992), pp. 27–28.

⁷ Routledge, *Moab in the Iron Age*, p. 150.

⁸ The most recent study suggests that the black stone may be granodiorite, rather than basalt, and may have once belonged to a statue. See Heather Dana Davis Parker and Ashley Fiotko Arico, "A Moabite-Inscribed Statue Fragment from Kerak: Egyptian Parallels," *BASOR* 373 (May 2015), pp. 105–120.

⁹ Kitchen, "Egyptian Evidence," pp. 26–27.

¹⁰ Routledge, *Moab in the Iron Age*, pp. 178–179; Fawzi Zayadine, "Sculpture in Ancient Jordan: Treasures from an Ancient Land," in P. Bienkowski, ed., *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan* (Sheffield: Collis, 1992), pp. 35–36.

¹¹ Routledge, *Moab in the Iron Age*, p. 182.

¹² P.M. Michèle Daviau, "Stone Altars Large and Small: The Iron Age Altars from Hirbet el-Mud'yine (Jordan)," in S. Bickel et al., eds., *Bilder als Quellen/Images as Sources: Studies on Ancient Near Eastern Artefacts and the Bible Inspired by the Work of Othmar Keel*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Special Volume

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William Dever is an American Near Eastern archaeologist specializing in the Bible. He is Professor Emeritus, Judaic Studies & Near Eastern Studies, University of Arizona,

Tucson. He earned his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1966, then in the early '70s served as director of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

He is the excavator of a city gate attributed to the Bible's King Solomon at Tel Gezer in Israel.

Dever lives in Cyprus and returns stateside as Distinguished Visiting Professor of Near Eastern Archaeology at Lycoming College in Pennsylvania.



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(Fribourg/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), pp. 125–150.

¹³ P.M. Michèle Daviau and Margreet Steiner, “A Moabite Sanctuary at *Khirbat Al-Mudayna*,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 320 (2000), pp. 1–21, especially pp. 8–14; Paul E. Dion and P.M. Michèle Daviau, “An Inscribed Incense Altar of Iron Age II at Hirbet el-Mudéyine (Jordan),” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 116 (2000), pp. 1–13.

¹⁴ Chang-Ho Ji, “The Early Iron Age II Temple at Hirbet ‘Atārūs and Its Architecture and Selected Cultic Objects,” in Jens Kamla, ed., *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2–1. Mill. B.C.E.)*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 41 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), pp. 203–222 and plates 46–49.

¹⁵ Chang-Ho Ji, “Architectural and Stratigraphic Context of the ‘Ataruz Inscription Column” (Presentation at the ASOR Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, November 16, 2012); Christopher A. Rollston, “The New ‘Ataruz Inscription: Late Ninth Century Epigraphic Evidence for the Moabite Scribal Apparatus” (Presentations at the ASOR Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, November 16, 2012).

¹⁶ Kitchen, “Egyptian Evidence,” pp. 26–27.

¹⁷ Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar and Ben-Yosef, *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan*, 2 vols.

(Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014).

¹⁸ Qausmalak by Tiglath-pileser III (c. 734 B.C.E.) and Qausgabri by Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal (early seventh century B.C.E.).

¹⁹ See the cautious comments of David Vanderhooft, “The Edomite Dialect and Script: A Review of the Evidence,” in Diana Vikander Edelman, ed., *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He Is Your Brother: Edom and Seir in History and Tradition*, Archaeology and Biblical Studies 3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), p. 151. Qausgabri of Edom is named among those supplying labor and materials for Esarhaddon’s building projects in Nineveh (c. 673 B.C.E.; *ANET* 291) and providing assistance in Ashurbanipal’s wars against Egypt (beginning 669 or 667 B.C.E.; *ANET* 294).

²⁰ Piotr Bienkowski, Crystal Bennett and Marta Balla, *Busayra: Excavations by Crystal M. Bennett 1971–1980*, Monographs in Archaeology 13 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002).

²¹ Vanderhooft, “The Edomite Dialect and Script,” p. 153.

²² The only exception is the personal name Barqos, “Qos gleamed forth” (Ezra 2:53; Nehemiah 7:55). The name Kushiāiah (1 Chronicles 15:17) has the variant form Kishi in 1 Chronicles 6:29 (6:44, English) and in any case involves a spelling with *shin* that is never used for Qos in other texts. See E.A. Knauf, “Qôs,” in Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter W. van der Horst, eds., *Dictionary of*

Deities and Demons in the Bible, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), p. 674.

²³ Itzhaq Beit-Arieh and B. Cresson, “An Edomite Ostrakon from Horvat ‘Uza,” *Tel Aviv* 12 (1985), pp. 96–100; Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, *Horvat Qitmit: An Edomite Shrine in the Biblical Negev*, Monograph Series of the Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology 11 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1995).

²⁴ Beit-Arieh, “An Edomite Ostrakon”; J. Andrew Dearman, “Edomite Religion. A Survey and an Examination of Some Recent Contributions,” in Diana Vikander Edelman, ed., *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He Is Your Brother*, pp. 121–131; Pirhiya Beck, “Horvat Qitmit Revisited via ‘En Haseva,” *Tel Aviv* 23 (1996), pp. 102–114; André Lemaire, “Edom and the Edomites,” in André Lemaire and Baruch Halpern, eds., *The Books of the Kings: Sources, Compositions, Historiography and Reception*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 129 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 225–243.

²⁵ Rudolph Cohen and Yigal Yisrael, “The Iron Age Fortresses at En Haseva,” *The Biblical Archaeologist* 58 (1995), pp. 223–235; P.M. Michèle Daviau, “Diversity in the Cultic Setting: Temples and Shrines in Central Jordan and the Negev,” in Jens Kamla, ed., *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2–1. Mill. B.C.E.)*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 41 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), pp. 435–458 and plates 63–64.

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Archaeological Views

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me that he had dug up a frieze with a beautiful relief of winged charioteers. He broke up the relief panel to smuggle the pieces out of the country, but he was caught and jailed. As we were talking, it dawned on me that I had just seen a frieze similar to this at the Bandırma Museum the day before. I was puzzled when I viewed the objects because the frieze appeared to have fresh breaks, and the separate pieces had newly exposed surfaces. I pulled out my camera and flipped back to the shots I had taken a day earlier. As I showed the photos to Ahmet and his neighbor, they affirmed that this was the frieze that Ahmet's neighbor had uncovered. Undeterred, Ahmet's neighbor continued his clandestine activities. To him, the rewards far outweighed the risks.

Illegal digs are ubiquitous in Turkey. Almost all of the sites are not protected

by fences; guards often find evidence of illegal digs.

Last year at another village in Turkey, I met a new friend who accompanied me to ruins in the nearby hills. At the end of the day, we returned to the village cafe, where we talked to several people who boasted about the objects they'd found. With so many objects available on the black and gray markets, collectors and curators are tempted to acquire impressive pieces that cannot be properly vetted. In recent years, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York was forced to return the so-called Lydian Treasure, and Boston's Museum of Fine Arts returned a large statue of Herakles to Turkey.

Simply put, Turkey has vast treasure buried underground. In the past, Turkey scarcely realized the value of its hidden treasures and was ill-prepared to excavate them. Today, however, Turkey's universities are training the next generation of historians and archaeologists who are

eager to explore Turkey's past. In recent years, a few new digs have begun at some sites around the country. But Turkey's resources are limited. Meanwhile, scores of ancient sites are left unprotected and are being ravaged by locals who are hoping to hit the jackpot.



Mark R. Fairchild is Chair of the Bible and Religion Department at Huntington University in Huntington, Indiana, as well as the Program Director for the Ephesus

Meeting, an academic conference at the ancient site of Ephesus in Turkey.

Biblical Views

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³ See A. Guillaume, "Is 44:5 in the Light of Elephantine Papyri," *Expository Times* 32 (1920–1921), pp. 377–379. Guillaume cites a number of Biblical passages that may allude to the practice: Ezekiel 9:4; Revelation 7:3; 13:16; 20:4; and possibly Galatians 6:17.

⁴ See Muhammed A. Dandamaev, *Slavery in Babylonia from Nabopolassar to Alexander the Great* (626–331 B.C.), Victoria A. Powell, trans., revised ed. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois Univ. Press, 2009), pp. 474–489. The Old Babylonian period Code of Hammurabi makes reference to the illegal shaving of a fugitive who had a slave's hairstyle (laws 226–227; see Martha T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 2nd ed. [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995], p. 124). Babylonian contracts and letters occasionally mention incisions (i.e., tattoos) on hands, arms and legs of servants; see the examples listed by Huehnergard and Liebowitz, *Vetus Testamentum* 63 (2013), 72.45–48. The Israelite practice of marking a perpetual slave is mentioned in Exodus 21:6 and Deuteronomy 15:17.

⁵ Herodotus (*Histories* II.13) describes a similar custom for Egyptians: "If a runaway slave takes refuge in this shrine and allows the sacred marks, which are the sign of his submission to the service of the god, his master, no matter who he is, cannot lay hands on him." (See Aubrey de Selincourt, trans., *Herodotus, the Histories* [London: Penguin, 1954], p. 171. Also, see Philo, *Laws* 1:58 and Lucian, *De Dea Syria* 59. W. Hayes (*The Scepter of Egypt*, Part 2 [New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953], pp. 219–221) describes various tattoo marks on female figures from various periods. In addition, James Breasted cites some examples of branding captives (*Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*, vol. 4 [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906–1907], par. 405).

"For the message of the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing, but to those of us who are being saved it is the Power of God." 1 Corinthians 1:18




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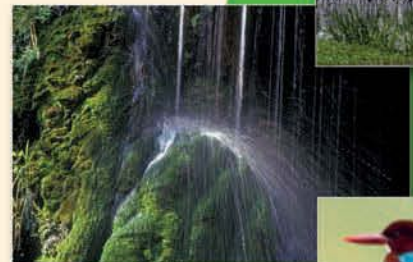
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Pig Bones

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¹ My research was funded by the European Research Council under the European Community's Seventh Framework Program (FP7/2007-2013) ERC grant agreement no. 229418, awarded to Israel Finkelstein (Tel Aviv University) and Steve Weiner (The Weizmann Institute of Science).

² Brian Hesse, "Pig Lovers and Pig Haters: Patterns of Palestinian Pork Production," *Journal of Ethnobiology* 10 (1990), pp. 195-225.

³ Avraham Faust, *Israel's Ethnogenesis: Settlement, Interaction, Expansion and Resistance* (London: Equinox, 2006); Israel Finkelstein, "Ethnicity and Origin of the Iron-I Settlers in the Highlands of Canaan—Can the Real Israel Stand Up?" *Biblical Archaeologist* 59 (1996), pp. 198-212; Lawrence E. Stager, "Forging an Identity: The Emergence of Ancient Israel," in Michael D. Coogan, ed., *The Oxford History of the Biblical World* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998), pp. 123-175.

⁴ Brian Hesse and Paula Wapnish, "Can Pig Remains Be Used for Ethnic Diagnosis in the Ancient Near East?" in Neal Asher Silberman and David Small, eds., *The Archaeology of Israel: Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press,

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⁵ See full list of references and figures in Lidar Sapir-Hen, Guy Bar-Oz, Yuval Gadot and Israel Finkelstein, "Pig Husbandry in Iron Age Israel and Judah: New Insights Regarding the Origin of the 'Taboo,'" *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 129 (2013), pp. 1-20.

⁶ See also Aren M. Maeir, Louise A. Hitchcock and Liora Kolska Horwitz, "On the Constitution and Transformation of Philistine Identity," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 32 (2013), pp. 1-38.

⁷ Avraham Faust and Justin Lev-Tov, "Philistia and the Philistines in the Iron Age I: Interaction, Ethnic Dynamics and Boundary Maintenance," *HIPHIL Novum* 2 (2014), pp. 1-24.

⁸ Meirav Meiri, Dorothee Huchon, Guy Bar-Oz, Elisabetta Boaretto, Liora Kolska Horwitz, Aren M. Maeir, Lidar Sapir-Hen, Greger Larson, Steve Weiner and Israel Finkelstein, "Ancient DNA and Population Turnover in Southern Levantine Pigs—Signature of the Sea Peoples Migration?" *Scientific Reports* (2013), pp. 1-8.

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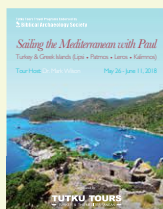
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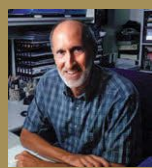
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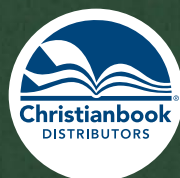
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